

6272 78

THE

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Published under the sanction of the
British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Series 4.
Vol. XV., No. 1.

JANUARY to MAY, 1895.

PRICE 2d. POST FREE.
GRATIS TO SUBSCRIBERS

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
ANNUAL SUMMARY, 1894.—The Brussels Act...	3
Zanzibar and Pemba. Uganda and the Mombasa Railway	4, 6
Nyasaland. Egypt	7, 8
Slave Trade in the Red Sea	9
Tripoli	10
Brazil and China. Madagascar. German East Africa Protectorate	11
Polynesian Labour Traffic. Abbeokuta. Portugal and the Slave Trade	12
Parliamentary. Lectures and Meetings. Obituary for 1894	13
Legacy. Ways and Means. Work for 1895	14
SLAVERY IN ZANZIBAR, ETC.—Correspondence with the Foreign Office	15
Our Tender Mercies at Zanzibar. Parliamentary Questions	16, 18, 32
Petitions to the House of Commons...	18-19
Debate in the House of Commons	20-32
Mr. J. A. PEASE on his Motion	35
Memorials of the London Chamber of Commerce	39
Resolutions of Religious Bodies	41
Capture of a Slave Dhow. The Baptists and Slavery in Zanzibar	53, 54
Zanzibar and English Responsibilities	59
Letter to <i>The Times</i> . C. H. ALLEN	62
MOROCCO, Slaves of Protégés in	17
Slave Trade in Morocco	39
Morocco...	9
Letter to the Editor—HENRY GURNEY	63
MOMBASA AND VICTORIA-NYANZA RAILWAY.—Parliamentary Questions	32-34
Memorial of London Chamber of Commerce	39
The Railway to be Constructed	56
PARLIAMENTARY	18-35
BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY	36
A Good Word for the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (<i>Westminster Gazette</i>)	40
THREE YEARS' TRAVEL IN THE CONGO STATE	37
THE ANTI-SLAVERY QUESTION—Correspondence	42
THE ROYAL NIGER COMPANY	43
REVIEWS— <i>Life and Letters of J. G. Whittier</i>	44-50
Sir Samuel Baker : A Memoir. <i>History of Slavery and Serfdom</i>	51, 53
How we Countenance Slavery	62
BRITISH EAST AFRICA	52
THIRTY-TWO NEGROES MURDERED	52
OBITUARY—MR. L. P. ALLEN	54
FREDERICK DOUGLASS	54
ANTI-SLAVERY WORK OF MR. ARTHUR ALBRIGHT	55
DRINK AND THE SLAVE TRADE	55
BRITISH RESPONSIBILITIES IN AFRICA	56
SLAVE TRADE IN TRIPOLI—Parliamentary Questions	18
Memorial to the Earl of Kimberley	57-58
SLAVE MARKETS IN THE CENTRAL SOUDAN	58
THE POLYNESIAN SLAVE QUESTION	60
A CENTRAL AFRICAN POTENTATE. SLAVERY IN EGYPT	61

PUBLISHED AT THE OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY,
55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.

The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

PATRON:

H.R.H. The PRINCE of WALES.

PRESIDENT.

ARTHUR PEASE, Esq.

TREASURER.

JOSEPH ALLEN, Esq.

COMMITTEE.

ARTHUR ALBRIGHT, Esq.
J. G. ALEXANDER, Esq., LL.B.
WILLIAM ALLEN, Esq.
W. WILBERFORCE BAYNES, Esq.
G. BINYON, Esq.
J. BEVAN BRAITHWAITE, Esq.
E. WRIGHT BROOKS, Esq.
CEPHAS BUTLER, Esq.
SIR T. FOWELL BUXTON, BART.
SYDNEY BUXTON, Esq., M.P.
JOEL CADBURY, Esq.
FREDERICK CASH, Esq.
JAMES CLARK, Esq.
J. V. CRAWFORD, Esq., late Consul in Cuba.
DR. R. N. CUST, F.R.G.S.
R. W. FELKIN, Esq., M.D., F.R.G.S.
SIR FREDERIC GOLDSMID, K.C.S.I.
HENRY GURNEY, Esq.
D. HACK, Esq.
EDWARD HARRISON, Esq.

HT 851
A7
CALEB R. KEMP, Esq.
J. H. LLOYD, Esq.
W. CAREY MORGAN, Esq.
JOHN MORLAND, Esq.
ALFRED E. PEASE, Esq.
JOSEPH A. PEASE, Esq., M.P.
ARNOLD PYE-SMITH, Esq.
FRANCIS RECKITT, Esq.
RICHARD SHORE, Esq.
J. FYFE STEWART, Esq.
REV. R. WARDLAW THOMPSON.
DR. E. UNDERHILL.
REV. HORACE WALLER.
W. H. WARTON, Esq.
REV. J. O. WHITEHOUSE.
REV. J. H. WILSON, D.D.
W. H. WYLDE, Esq., C.M.G. (late of the
Foreign Office *Slave-Trade Department*).
REV. J. C. YARBOROUGH.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

MONS. THE BISHOP OF ADRUMETUM.
G. T. ABRINES, Esq., Tangier, Morocco.
FRANK ALLEN, Esq., Alexandria.
FRED. ARNOT, Esq., S.W. Africa.
B. R. BALFOUR, Esq., Drogheda.
HON. H. A. BOVELL, LL.B., Barbadoes.
REV. H. CLARK, Jamaica.
PROFESSOR E. DESCAMPS, Louvain.
DR. DUTRIEUX BEY, Paris.
PROF. H. DRUMMOND, F.R.S.E., Glasgow.
WM. GALEA, Esq., British Vice-Consul,
Sousse, Tunis.
WILLIAM HARVEY, Esq., Ilkley.
ROBERT DRUMMOND HAY, Esq.,
H.B.M. Consul-General, Smyrna.
CAPTAIN E. C. HORE, South Seas.
G.P. HUNOT, Esq., British Vice-Consul, Saffee
H. H. JOHNSTON, C.B., H.B.M. Consul-
General Mozambique, and Commissioner
Nyasaland.
SEÑOR A. R. JURADO, London.
DR. F. L. de GUZMAN LOBO, Rio de Janeiro.
THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON MAPLES.
NOEL TEMPLE MOORE, Esq., C.M.G.,
H.B.M. Consul-General, Tripoli.

A. J. MORASSO, Esq., Tangier.
WILLIAM MORGAN, Esq., Winchester.
G. MOYNIER, Esq., Geneva.
SENHOR JOAQUIM NABUCO, late
Member of the Brazilian Parliament.
PROF. EDOUARD NAVILLE, Geneva.
REV. PÈRE OHRWALDER, Cairo.
J. A. PAYNE, Esq., Lagos, W. Africa.
DR. PRUEN, Cheltenham.
SENHOR A. REBOUCAS, Lisbon.
DR. GERHARD ROHLFS, Weimar.
DR. A. M. ROSS, Toronto.
REV. A. V. SCHELTEMA, Amsterdam.
DR. G. SCHWEINFURTH, Cairo.
REV. LAWRENCE SCOTT, late of Nyasa.
REV. W. G. SHELLABEAR, Singapore.
DON LUIS SORELA, Spain.
JOSEPH THOMSON, Esq., Dumfries.
M. LE COMTE D'URSEL, Brussels.
REV. E. VANORDEN, Rio Grande do Sul.
M. COURTOIS DE VICOSE, Toulouse.
J. A. WILLIAMS, Esq., Nyasa.
LEONARD K. WILSON, Esq., Brussels.
W. J. WILSON, Esq., Cairo.
A. B. WYLDE, Esq., Suakin.

SECRETARY.

CHARLES H. ALLEN, F.R.G.S.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY: J. EASTOE TEALL.

TRAVELLING AGENT AND LECTURER: FREDK. C. BANKS.

Bankers: Messrs. BARCLAY, BEVAN, TRITTON & Co., 54, Lombard Street.

Offices: 55 NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

FROM JANUARY TO MAY, 1895.

Owing to a severe attack of influenza, which incapacitated the Editor for many weeks, and to a considerable amount of extra work connected with the Society's action in enlisting the sympathies of the great religious bodies, and also an unusual pressure of Parliamentary business, this issue of the REPORTER has been unavoidably delayed until the present month.

MAY, 1895.

ANNUAL SUMMARY.

1894.

IN commencing the summary for 1893, it was stated that the first place must, undoubtedly, be given to the efforts made by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, for procuring the abolition of Slavery in the British Protectorate of Zanzibar. It was also stated that the work would not be relaxed until every form of Slave labour had been abolished in all the British Protectorates.

Unfortunately we have to repeat the same statement at the end of 1894, for in spite of a large amount of pressure put upon Her Majesty's Government, Slave labour in Zanzibar and Pemba is as rife as it was twelve months ago.

Although this question has absorbed a very large amount of the Society's energies during the past year, it is by no means the only important question with which it has had to deal. We shall, therefore, after our usual custom, break up the *résumé* under various headings.

The General Act of the Brussels Conference.

IN dealing with Slave questions in Africa, reference has continually to be made to the General Act signed at Brussels, and one of the chief works of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY is to keep a watch upon every portion of Africa which is subject to the provisions of that Act, not only as regards the Slave-trade, but as regards the importation of firearms, ammunition, and ardent spirits, which always go hand in hand with the operations of the Slave-hunter.

As is now well known, it is to the International Bureau, at Brussels, that Slave papers forwarded by the different European Powers have to be sent; and this system has made it more difficult for the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to receive that fuller information which it was formerly able to obtain from the Slave-trade papers published by our Government. This system also produces considerable delay. Papers are issued occasionally, but they are not so full as those formerly published by our own Government.

Zanzibar and Pemba.

SLAVERY UNDER BRITISH PROTECTION.

IT is to be hoped that this is the last year in which such a heading as the above will be applicable. The fact, however, remains that a vast number of Slaves—reckoned by various authorities at from 100,000 to 300,000—are working on clove and other plantations or otherwise, in the two islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, as well as on the mainland strip belonging to the SULTAN.

In the Consular Report for the year 1893, on the trade of Zanzibar, presented to Parliament in May last, we have some means of estimating in what manner and for what purpose the greater number of these Slaves are employed.

In the first place it may be noted that Mr. CRACKNALL, who signs the Report, complains bitterly of the difficulty of procuring sufficient labour. At the same time he tells us that the price of cloves has fallen nearly a dollar and a half per frasila (35 lbs.) since January, 1893.

Yet, with all this to contend against, it is noteworthy that the amount of cloves exported from the islands has risen from 1,894,913 Rupees (say roughly £120,000), in 1892, to 2,217,562 Rupees in 1893 (say roughly £140,000).

With regard to the labour employed, the Consul writes :—

The cultivation of the island is at present entirely carried out by domestic Slaves, the supply of whom is constantly diminishing, and the Arab proprietor can neither, except with the greatest difficulty and danger, recruit raw Slaves, as he did in former times, from the mainland, owing to the vigilance of our cruisers and of the local authorities ; nor has he the available funds, even if he had the opportunity or the inclination to hire labour elsewhere. The Indian money-lenders, to whom most of the estates are mortgaged, would be, if they were inclined to foreclose, in an even more powerless condition, for they can neither command Slave labour of their own nor is there any labour available for employment.

From the above quotation it would appear that the estates on which Arab proprietors are employing Slave labour are in most cases mortgaged to Indian money-lenders. These Indians being British subjects, the question would seem to arise whether their lending money on mortgage upon estates whose principal available value consists of Slaves, is in accordance with British or Indian law against the Slave-trade. In any case, would not these mortgagees be in a better position if the estates on which they lent money were cultivated by free labour, of which, in Sir JOHN KIRK's opinion, there would be sufficient available, if the status of Slavery were done away with.

Free labour and Slave labour have never worked well together, and the experience of those countries which employed Slave labour has been

that after Slavery was abolished production increased: witness our own possessions, the United States, Cuba and Brazil.

The action taken by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to procure abolition in Zanzibar and Pemba, has been so fully detailed in the recent numbers of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, that it is unnecessary to reprint here the voluminous official correspondence that has taken place on the subject during the past year between the Society and Her Majesty's Government. Other important steps have been taken of a confidential nature, which at present can only be alluded to. Nor have various other opportunities been neglected of bringing this subject before some of the best known religious bodies in England.

Early in the year the Society of Friends was approached by Mr. ARTHUR ALBRIGHT, one of the oldest members of the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, with a view to arousing a renewed enthusiasm amongst the various meetings into which the Society of Friends is divided, as well as amongst the individual members, in order that a large increase of moral and material aid might be given to the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to enable it to carry on with undiminished efficiency its important work.

The great body of the Wesleyans, at its yearly Conference, held this year in Birmingham, consented to receive a small deputation from the Society of Friends in that city, consisting of Messrs. ARTHUR ALBRIGHT, CEPHAS BUTLER, Alderman WHITE, and JOHN HENRY LLOYD, to which were added Mr. ARTHUR PEASE, President, and Mr. C. H. ALLEN, Secretary of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. The Conference passed a Resolution in the following terms, copy of which was forwarded to Her Majesty's Government:

"The Conference expresses its sympathy with the objects of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and it hopes that all the ministers and members of the Methodist Church will continue, not less earnestly than at any former time, to sustain the efforts of that Society; and that Slavery and the Slave-trade may be speedily and completely abolished."

Similar friendly intercourse was opened by the Society with the autumn meeting of the Baptist Union, held at Newcastle-on-Tyne, an exhaustive notice of which was published in the *Freeman*, the official organ of that religious body, and a committee was formed to co-operate with Mr. ALBRIGHT in considering the best means of procuring the abolition of Slavery throughout all British Protectorates.

Attempts were made to have similar deputations to the Church Congress and the Congregational Union, but the fulness of the programme of these two bodies did not admit of any fresh business being entered into.

Considerable correspondence with respect to Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba has taken place in the public press during the past year, and it is gratifying to record that in most cases the views of the Society have been supported by editorial comments.

In Parliament, Mr. J. A. PEASE, M.P., has kindly acted on behalf of the Society, in putting questions to Ministers, and eliciting answers which have been of great service to the cause. On two or three occasions, also, considerable discussions have been raised tending to enlighten the public on the anomalies which still exist in Zanzibar and Pemba.

In the autumn of the year, the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, in consequence of private reports which had reached it that the British Administration in Zanzibar were levying a tax of £1 per head on "Porters" (that is Slaves recruited for journeys into the interior of Africa), thus encouraging the Slave-trade, memorialized the Foreign Office, and received from the Secretary of State a copy of the regulations which amply confirmed its worst anticipations. It has been and will be the duty of the Society to leave no stone unturned in order to get rid, for once and for all, of the institution of Slavery, in countries owning allegiance to the British Crown, and thus remove the foul stain which now rests upon the Christian character of the nation.

Uganda and the Mombasa Railway.

EARLY in the year, the long-awaited report of Sir GERALD PORTAL, who had been sent to report on the state of Uganda, in consequence of the Society's deputation to Lord ROSEBURY, in October, 1892, was presented to Parliament. His recommendation that the country should be taken over by England received the assent of the Government; but, up to the present time his recommendations as to the necessity for making a railway from Mombasa to Lake Victoria (so long and persistently urged by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY) has not yet been carried into effect. In the meantime, the Germans are making active progress with a line from the coast in their East African Protectorate, whilst all transport in the British sphere is carried out by Slaves. Of the fate of these wretched creatures we learn much in Sir GERALD PORTAL'S interesting work, entitled, *The Mission to Uganda*. After referring to an old man whom he had found wandering about without food or clothing, having been left behind by the leader of a caravan, he says that

These and similar acts of ghastly cruelty, amounting almost to cold-blooded murder, are done day by day, and have been done for the last fifty years in native caravans there can be no doubt whatever; such caravans, when once they are up

country, are free from all control ; power almost of life and death over dozens of his fellow creatures remains absolutely in the hands of the leader, who is perhaps a half-caste Arab ; or, perhaps, a Swahili of a class from which domestic servants or private soldiers are drawn at Zanzibar : nobody asks or cares how many men, Slaves or free, are taken or inveigled into coming as porters, and nobody knows or ascertains how many of these men ever return.

In another reference to these "Porters," he says—

Slowly and painfully he toils along, always getting whacked for lagging behind, his open sore becoming worse and worse until every step is an agony to him. At last comes the day when he can literally move no farther, and even the head man sees that the game is played out. If the poor fellow be near a native village, he may creep there and take his chance ; but if, as is more likely, he is in the midst of an uninhabited district, he needs do nothing more than speculate as to the way in which the end will come, whether by lion, hyæna, or starvation. The caravan goes on, his load has been added to the already heavy burdens of his companions, and nobody will ever ask what has become of him, why he was left behind, whether he was murdered, whether indeed he ever existed.

The present cost of transport is so high, that a sum equal to nearly half the interest on the capital required to construct the proposed railway will have to be spent in conveying *on the heads of Slaves* the steamer which is to be sent in March, 1895, to the Victoria-Nyanza !

To repeated memorials of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, the reply has always been that the question is under consideration. But now that the line has been surveyed, and contractors are ready to undertake its construction, the interest being guaranteed for a specified term, in a manner similar to that practised in the construction of the Indian Railways, it is hoped that before our next annual summary is written, a line of railway will, at any rate, have been commenced.

On the return of Sir GERALD PORTAL, Major MACDONALD was installed as Acting-Commissioner, remaining there till November, 1893. During the year and a half of his stay there (*i.e.*, including the time when he was acting for the Imperial British East Africa Company), about 2,000 Slaves were liberated, and a large war canoe, containing eight slaves, seized on the lake. These Slaves were liberated, and their Arab masters sentenced to a term of imprisonment.

Nyasaland.

IN Nyasaland the Slaver has been very busy during the last year, but owing to the risk of capture by the steamers on the lake, new and more circuitous routes are now taken. The ease with which arms and gunpowder can be imported into the British sphere, in spite of the Brussels Act and the regulations issued by the Commissioner, shows how difficult it is to suppress the smuggling of contraband articles, including Slaves,

into countries that have not yet been fully developed. How it was that several caravans, loaded with powder, were ferried across the lake by the steamer *Hermann von Wissmann*, a vessel placed there by the German Anti-Slavery Society, has never been explained. This large quantity of powder, amounting to many thousand pounds weight, was intended for raiding, doubtless, amongst the tribes in the British sphere of influence, many of whom would be transported to the coast, and thence smuggled into Zanzibar for use as "porters," or to work in the plantations of Pemba, for the benefit of the British Administration.

Mr. H. H. JOHNSTON, the British Commissioner, was in England for several months of the year, during which a report of his administration was presented to Parliament. With many of Mr. JOHNSTON'S opinions, as set forth in that report, the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was unable to agree, especially as regards the proposed importation of Indians into Central Africa.

It is with regret that the Society has seen grow up in Nyasaland a system of so-called "freeing Slaves," under, it is understood, the ægis of the British Administration, whereby money advanced to Slaves, and handed by them to the owners, is repaid *by the labour of the Slaves*. This is a practice which the Society is unable to dissociate from the Slave-trade, as, by means of the money paid to him, the master is able to purchase fresh slaves, to be in turn hired out in the same way, a great encouragement to Slave-raiding being the consequence.

The Germans have legalised this practice in their Protectorate, and it will be the source of much trouble in the future. The remedy for the evil is the abolition of Slavery, and the consequent opening up of a wide field of free labour. Those interested in the development of British territories in Africa, should join hands with the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in its efforts to bring about the extinction of Slavery, and they will find that with the triumphs of the cause of freedom plenty of free labour will be available if properly paid for.

Egypt.

EARLY in the year 1894, a Parliamentary Blue Book was presented to Parliament setting forth that 284 Slaves, mostly women, had been freed in 1893, as against 422 in the previous year. Many of these were passed into the Cairo Home, which, founded some ten years ago under the auspices of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, still carries on its beneficent work. For the last three years, as caravans had apparently ceased coming into Lower Egypt, the same vigilance which had formerly been exercised was, in some of the outlying posts,

somewhat relaxed. At the end of 1893, it became known that three caravans had entered Lower Egypt and distributed their Slaves. Although the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY had long feared that Slaves were frequently smuggled in, its members were hardly prepared for the news that some of the Pashas at Cairo were implicated in the Slave traffic. This, however, turned out to be a fact, and in a case which occurred in August last sentences of imprisonment were awarded to some of those implicated. Fearing lest the Egyptian Government should relax in any way the laws against the Slave-trade by sending the trial of accused persons to Native Courts, the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY memorialized the EARL OF KIMBERLEY, urging the continuance of the existing tribunal. This memorial has received due consideration in the course of the negotiations now pending, and it is pleasant to be able to record that Lord CROMER and Sir JOHN SCOTT have expressed their desire to carry out as nearly as may be possible the views of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in the formation of a Court for the trial of Slave cases.

Slave-trade in Red Sea.

OWING to the absence of the Consular Reports on the Slave-trade, which were formerly issued yearly by the Foreign Office, it has been very difficult to obtain information as to Slavery and the Slave-trade in various districts of the East, notably as regards the Red Sea; whilst the tendency of the authorities has been to deny its very existence.

Early last year the Society received intelligence that the Slave-trade into Arabia was still very prevalent, though much secrecy was required in the attempts to run Slaves across the Red Sea. In some cases the Italian flag had been used to cover this contraband traffic, which was carried on in connection with smuggled tobacco. Indirectly, the information was confirmed by a despatch from Egypt to the effect that the country south of Suakin on the African mainland was uncontrolled, and that there was nothing to prevent Slaves being transported across the Red Sea from that portion of the coast. The BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY at once took steps to enquire into the truth of the allegations which it had received, and the result of those inquiries, it is hoped, will be published in due course.

Morocco.

SOME few years ago, owing to the action of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in exposing the practice of the public sale of Slaves in the port towns of Morocco, this scandal was put a stop to by the intervention of the

late Sir JOHN HAY. But latterly the practice has been revived, though the custom of parading them through the market and public streets does not appear to be as general as formerly. From persons well qualified to pronounce an opinion, the Society learns that the Government Revenue Collector receives a duty of five per cent. on the value of all sales, excepting only purchases made by the officials, who are the largest buyers, and who forward them to the northern markets, and to persons at the Sultan's Court. A public market is held almost daily within view of the Imperial palace in Morocco city, the trade being chiefly in young women and children. Since the attempt to obtain a treaty from the Sultan, when Sir CHARLES EUAN SMITH'S Mission to Fez ended so abruptly, nothing has been heard of official action on the part of the British Government in this direction. Surely the time has arrived when a joint pacific remonstrance might be made by the European Powers to the Sultan's Government, with the view of putting a stop to the atrocities which are of daily occurrence in a country which lies at the very threshold of Europe. In its efforts to bring about reforms in Morocco, the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY has received the hearty support of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, and there can be no doubt that the abolition of the Slave-trade would be the means of opening up the country to legitimate commerce.

Tripoli.

IN the Summaries for 1892 and 1893 attention was called to the constant practice which prevailed of the shipping of Slaves in British and other European steamers, from Tripoli, under the guise of passengers. A long correspondence between the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY and the Foreign Office had taken place, in which the latter endeavoured to show that the allegations of the Society were exaggerated, if not, indeed, untrue. The late Under Secretary of State, in a despatch dated Foreign Office, July 21, 1893, referred to the latest reports received from the British Consul at Benghazi, and stated that to the latter's best belief the trade in Slaves had been entirely suppressed at the port of Tripoli, and that its existence at that port had never been reported. The reports from the Consul, extending from 1890 to May, 1893, which were laid before Parliament in this year, did not confirm this roseate belief, but amply bore out the views expressed by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in their memorials, views which were confirmed in December, 1894, by private communications from Tripoli to the Society.

Brazil and China.

THE exposure by the *Daily News* of an attempt to supply a million Chinese for work on the plantations of Brazil was taken up by the Society, and a memorial to the EARL OF KIMBERLEY and letters in the press were the means of putting a stop to a traffic which has invariably been found to be nothing more nor less than the Slave-trade. There would have been no means of controlling the treatment of the Chinese when once they had arrived in Brazil, a country where there must be plenty of labour available, when it is considered that between half a million and a million of Slaves were set free some seven years ago. What has become of these liberated negroes?

Madagascar.

SINCE the recognition of the French Protectorate over Madagascar by the British Government in 1890, all English Treaty Rights with respect to the Slave-trade have been abrogated. The institution of Slavery remains the same, but we are glad to record the fact that some of the missionaries of the Friends' Foreign Missionary Association made an attempt to awaken in the minds of the *Christians* of Antananarivo some idea of the guilt of Slavery. It is hoped that some good may have followed the attempt of these worthy missionaries.

German East African Protectorate.

THE evils arising from the system of ransoming Slaves, on condition that the latter repay by their services the amount of the ransom, was amply shown by a correspondence which was placed in the hands of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, by the Imperial British East Africa Company. A German trader, wishing to obtain a thousand men to work in the gold mines of Madagascar, applied to the agent of the Imperial British East Africa Company for permission to export the men, offering to pay £1 per head for each man exported, stating that he had already sent five hundred men to the Congo State, and claiming his right as a German subject to be allowed "to buy slaves and free them." The permission was very properly refused by the Company's agent, but the law which prevails in the German Protectorate in East Africa and in Togoland will simply prolong Slavery there for an indefinite time, and lead to a form of the Slave-trade scarcely to be distinguished, if at all, from that pursued by the French on the East Coast (under the name of *émigrés libres*), and even now constantly practised on the West Coast by the Portuguese.

The fact that a German firm had been in the habit of purchasing Slaves from the King of Dahomey and shipping them as labourers to the Congo State, received the just condemnation of the German Government, some of the persons implicated being criminally punished.

The dismissal and punishment by the German Government of a high official in the Cameroons for the flogging of native women, it is hoped will have a salutary effect upon others who exceed the ordinary rules of humanity and civilisation in dealing with Africans.

Polynesian Labourer Traffic.

THE Polynesian Labour Traffic still continues, in spite of the protests of Lord STANMORE, Sir WM. DES VOEUX, Admiral ERSKINE, Dr. J. G. PATON, the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and many others, and the beautiful islands of the South Seas are being depopulated for the purpose of providing a handful of Queensland sugar planters with labourers. The Society, early in 1894, published the principal portions of a long memorial to the Colonial Minister, from the pen of Dr. PATON. The statements contained in this memorial have as yet not been answered, and in one instance the Colonial authorities have proved the truth of Dr. PATON's allegations.

The whole system is but a branch of the Slave-trade, and is a disgrace to the British nation.

Abbeokuta.

A GRAND palaver was held at the close of the year in Sodeke Square, and amongst the laws passed was one to the effect that no Egba should assist any Ibadan in the disposal of Slaves brought into the country by the latter, and that the Egbas should cease the purchase of Slaves from the Ibadans.

Portugal and the Slave-trade.

DURING the year, the renewed attention of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY has been turned to the continued traffic in so-called "labourers" from the Province of Angola to the Islands of St. Thomé and Principé and other places belonging to Portugal in South West Africa. The traffic has never been stopped, although strong remonstrances were addressed to Portugal by the late Earl GRANVILLE some ten or twelve years ago. This traffic differs but slightly from the Slave-trade proper, and doubtless is the cause of many raids in the Western part of the African Continent.

Parliamentary.

DURING the year there have been several discussions on Anti-Slavery topics, such as Uganda, the Mombasa Railway, Zanzibar, the Polynesian Traffic, etc., in Parliament. The ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY is again indebted to Mr. J. A. PEASE, M.P., for putting searching questions to the Government, and in other ways calling the attention of Parliament to matters of importance in connection with the Anti-Slavery movement. Full details of these questions and debates have from time to time been given in the columns of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

Lectures and Meetings.

DURING the year 1894 the Society's Lecturer has delivered 50 lectures, and others of the Society's staff have spoken at meetings, etc. It is believed that these lectures have been the cause of a renewed interest in the Society's work, especially amongst the young.

Obituary.

Amongst those who have passed away during the past twelve months, Bishop SMYTHIES, Captain LOVETT CAMERON, C.B., and Sir GERALD PORTAL, will always have their names indissolubly connected with the work of Christianity and civilisation in Africa.

Earl GREY, who died in the autumn, will be remembered for his active efforts on behalf of the Slaves in the British Colonies, when a member of his father's administration in 1833.

Mr. JAMES LONG, M.A., was well known to many of our readers for his philanthropic work on the Continent of Europe during every war since 1864, as well as for active Anti-Slavery work in England and in France, especially with reference to the founding of the Congo State and the Berlin Conference of 1884-5.

Amongst those immediately connected with THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, we regret to record the deaths of the following, some of whom had been members from the earliest days of the Society's work :—

JOSEPH ARMFIELD.
MARIA BINNS.
SARAH MOON CASH.
MARY ANN HARRIS.
SARAH G. HARVEY.
FREDERICK LONGDON.

SENHOUSE MARTINDALE.
JANE GURNEY PEASE.
ALGERNON PECKOVER.
JOHN PHILLIPS.
HENRY PICKERING.
ELIZABETH B. PRIDEAUX.

HENRY RICHARDSON.
JOHN ROWNTREE.
ELIZABETH THOMAS.
PHILIP D. TUCKETT.
MISS CAROLINE TWEEDY.
WILSON WATERFALL.

Legacy.

During the year one legacy of £100 from the executors of the late THOMAS WESTCOMBE, of Worcester, has been received, the first occasion on which the Society has benefited by this form of gift since the receipt of £100 under the will of the late Stafford Allen, who died in 1889.

Ways and Means.

By the generous action of Mr. ARTHUR ALBRIGHT, a sum of over £1,000 was received by the Society during 1894, in order to tide over the threatened hampering of its important work caused by the death of old and tried friends and members of the Society. This sum is now all but exhausted, and an urgent appeal, in view of the increasing work of the Society, is now made to all whose sympathies are not limited to work at home, but who also feel for those in foreign lands who have no helper. For these we would repeat the same appeal to the Christians of the British Empire which was addressed to the ancient Church, to "Remember them that are in Bonds."

1895.

THE principal objects which demand the close attention of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY during the present year are:—

The abolition of Slavery in the British Protectorate of Zanzibar, and in every other British Protectorate where Slavery is tolerated, or any form of servile labour akin to Slavery.

The Society having sent a Special Commissioner to Zanzibar and Pemba, to make a personal investigation into Slavery and the Slave-trade in those Islands and on the mainland strip under the nominal rule of the SULTAN, now awaits his report.

The Commissioner is Mr. DONALD MACKENZIE, the energetic founder of the British Settlement at Cape Juby—lately sold to the SULTAN OF MOROCCO for a large sum. Mr. MACKENZIE's long acquaintance with Arabs, Moors, and the black races renders him admirably fitted for the arduous work he has undertaken, for the information and at the expense of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

To call the attention of Foreign Governments to any infringement on the part of their subjects of the Act of the Brussels Conference with regard to the Slave-trade.

The collection of information respecting the Labour Traffic in Queensland, and the evils caused by the depopulation of the Polynesian Islands.

To keep the British public informed upon all ANTI-SLAVERY matters by means of lectures, and through the Press, and in all other ways as opportunity may arise.

Slavery in Zanzibar.

THE following further correspondence has taken place with the Foreign Office :—

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.,
January 3rd, 1895.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY, K.G., ETC., ETC.,
HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

MY LORD,—At a large Committee Meeting of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, held on the 7th ult., the question of the abolition of the status of Slavery in British Protectorates was again earnestly discussed. Attention was drawn to the lengthy Memorial forwarded by this Society to the EARL OF ROSEBERY on the 30th December, 1893, in which the whole subject of Slavery in the Sultanate of Zanzibar was, at the request of his Lordship, laid fully before him. A copy of the Memorial in question is herewith enclosed.

Twelve months have now elapsed, and the same unsatisfactory condition of things depicted in the Memorial above referred to still exists ; nor, as far as the Committee is aware, are any effective measures in contemplation by Her Majesty's Government, either to ameliorate the condition of the Slaves in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, to emancipate those who are admittedly entitled to their freedom, or to prevent the importation of fresh Slaves.

Under these circumstances, it is the unanimous opinion of the Committee that the time has arrived for urging upon Her Majesty's Government a more decided and definite policy.

It had not unreasonably been expected that when Zanzibar was taken under British protection, the stigma of Slavery would be removed from a country coming under British rule, and that this has not been the case the Committee can assure your Lordship is exciting a deep and widespread feeling of dissatisfaction throughout the country, which will, doubtless, find expression when Parliament meets. In this state of things, a Resolution was unanimously passed by the Committee calling upon Her Majesty's Government to issue a Proclamation declaring the immediate and unconditional emancipation of every Slave in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba.

By order,
I have the honour to be,
Your Lordship's obedient servant,
CHAS. H. ALLEN, *Secretary.*

FOREIGN OFFICE,

January 15th, 1895.

SIR,—I am directed by the EARL OF KIMBERLEY to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant, forwarding copy of a Resolution

passed at a Committee Meeting of your Society in favour of the immediate emancipation of all Slaves in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba.

I am to inform you in reply that the subject is receiving Lord KIMBERLEY'S careful attention, and that the views expressed in your communication will be duly considered by his Lordship.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

T. H. SANDERSON.

THE SECRETARY,
BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Our Tender Mercies at Zanzibar.

To the Editor of "THE TIMES."

SIR,—Permit me to say a few words on "Zanzibari's" communication to you in *The Times* of to-day. By a recent enactment, and with a view to regulate the enormous demand for Slaves in our Protectorate of Zanzibar, for caravan service, a code of rules has lately been enforced which may prove somewhat interesting, to say the least of it, if you will permit me to put its purport into plain English.

No one is allowed to lead off a caravan of Slaves for Central Africa or Uganda without he first registers them at Zanzibar Island. He pays ten rupees per head to the Mohammedan Court to begin with, and has to lodge £10 per head at the British Agency for all porters up to 25 in number, and £5 for each one above that number. He also has to pay down two months' wages in advance, and must sign a bond which compels him to bring all porters back to the island; moreover, he must not pay any wages to the porters on the march or during their absence of two years, but must reserve such settlement till it can be made in the presence of the Sultan of Zanzibar's appointed agent.

Now let us see what this means. In the first place, I understand that some of the deposit money, by way of percentage, goes to our Consular establishment, the very office from which an edict was issued in Sir GERALD PORTAL'S time, making it illegal to fit out these caravans at all.

In the second place, £10 is more than sufficient to buy a new Slave, so the Arab owner cannot lose. If his Slave dies in the interior he claims the deposit and wages accrued.

In the third place, all the Slave's earnings (if he does turn up again) must be paid down by the Englishman before an Arab official, which simply means this. By Arab law, what a Slave earns belongs to his master. We thus have the money placed in the hands of those who can shut their eyes whilst it is intercepted, or who can inform the owner exactly what his man has against his name in the wages account.

The consequence is that there is no more lucrative trade in Eastern Africa than providing "porters" (they are always called porters) for these vast

caravans. Risk is absolutely non-existent, if only the captives can be smuggled into Zanzibar. Meanwhile, it costs the British taxpayer £150,000 at least each year to keep up an appearance of stopping Slaves entering Zanzibar at all.

But our Government is at its wits' end to get enough of them to carry steamers, etc., to Uganda, and this is their fate when once our squadron has been evaded, and they are taken in squads to the registration offices, at one of which sits General MATTHEWS, on behalf of the Mohammedans, and at the other Mr. HARDINGE to represent our Foreign Office.

It is nonsense to talk of Slavery diminishing when such inducements towards its increase are held out. Mr. STANLEY reckoned in 1892 that 20,000 porters per annum went Ugandawards; there must be ten caravans to-day for one then.

No one has yet contradicted Sir JOHN KIRK's assertion (as quoted by Mr. J. A. PEASE in Parliament) that there are three times the quantity of cloves picked in Zanzibar and Pemba now than were gathered ten years ago. This is all done by Slave-labour.

It is hard to have to tell people that such things take place in two islands for which we gave away Heligoland, when they have laboured under the impression that where the British flag flies there reigns absolute freedom.

Your obedient Servant,

HORACE WALLER.

Twywell, Thrapston, April 22.

Slaves of Protégés in Morocco.

To the Editor of "THE TIMES." (See page 39.)

SIR,—I am happy to inform the public through your courtesy that, in consequence of the insertion in *The Times* of my letter on this subject a few weeks ago, the Legations of England, France, and Spain, at Tangier, have written to their respective Consuls ordering them to procure the liberation of all Slaves held by their Moorish *protégés*, and that this has been carried into effect.

My informant states that the Consular Agents of the United States and of Brazil have declined to follow this example, and that their *protégés* hold more Slaves than those of any other Power. It is to be hoped that the Governments represented by those Agents may give instructions for the liberation of all Slaves held by their *protégés*.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

CHAS. H. ALLEN, Secretary.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
55, New Broad Street, London, E.C., May 10th.

Parliamentary.

(The Parliamentary questions and debates are given in extenso, in order to facilitate future operations of the Society, and to form a ready means of reference.)

HOUSE OF COMMONS, February 7th.

THE SLAVE TRADE AND CONSULAR REPORTS.

MR. J. PEASE asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether her Majesty's Government had received any consular reports relating to the Slave-trade from any portions of the Turkish Empire; and whether the present activity of the Slave Trade in Tripoli had been reported to the Foreign Office; if so, whether the papers would be laid on the table of the House.

SIR E. GREY.—The recent reports will be examined with the view of seeing what papers can be laid upon the table.

SLAVERY IN ZANZIBAR AND PEMBA.

MR. J. PEASE asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether her Majesty's Government had recently taken any steps towards bringing about either the prompt abolition of slavery in the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, or even the liberation of those slaves illegally held in bondage in these British Protectorates.

SIR E. GREY.—A Vice-Consul has recently been appointed in Pemba who will shortly take up the appointment. It is hoped that information will now be obtained from a source which has been hitherto closed, which will facilitate a comprehensive examination of the subject. The Sultan has always been, and is now, ready to liberate at once any slave proved to be illegally held. The prompt abolition of slavery in these islands presents many difficulties, but her Majesty's Government are now considering how the object in view can best be obtained.

March 1st, 1895.

MR. JOSEPH A. PEASE, M.P., presented a Petition from the Society of Friends, the Congregational Union, and some 15 other Petitions, in support of the abolition of Slavery in Zanzibar, Pemba, and other British Protectorates. A Petition was subsequently presented from the Baptist Union. The following Petition was also presented, Mr. PEASE being loudly cheered as he stated its principal points to the House.

It was hoped that a Motion which had been put down demanding the abolition of Slavery in British protected territories, especially in Zanzibar and Pemba, would have been reached, but prior business took up the whole time of the House.

TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

SHEWETH,

That your Petitioners have observed that the Administration of the British Protectorate of Zanzibar (including the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba) is now under the control of English officials, irremovable except by the consent of Her Majesty's Consul-General.

That your Petitioners learn from the latest Reports of Her Majesty's Consuls at Zanzibar, that the cultivation of the Islands is entirely carried out by domestic Slaves, and that the revenue is mainly derived from the products of Slave labour.

That your Petitioners are aware that the estates of the Arab proprietors are largely mortgaged to Indian money-lenders, most, if not all, of whom are subjects of Her Majesty—a condition of things which your Petitioners consider most reprehensible, if not illegal.

That your Petitioners have not ceased, from time to time, to memorialise Her Majesty's Government for many years past on behalf of the Slave population of the British Protectorate of Zanzibar, almost all of which must have been introduced into the Islands since the Abolition of the Slave-trade by Treaty, between Great Britain and Zanzibar in 1873, and are, therefore, now held in illegal bondage.

That your Petitioners have read with surprise the recent Regulations for Porters engaged for caravan service, for as these Porters must necessarily be Slaves, it would appear to be a recognition of the status of Slavery in a British Protectorate, and one that involves an increase of revenue from Slave labour.

That the honour of the British Nation is deeply compromised by the existing state of things in its Protectorates, since it has been the glory and the boast of Great Britain that Slavery cannot exist in British territory, and that the moment a Slave sets his foot on any portion whatsoever of the British dominions, he is free.

That the continuance of Slavery practically reverses the Anti-Slavery policy which, for more than sixty years, has been carried out by the British Nation, besides being deeply injurious to every interest among the people in these protected territories.

That it cannot be right for this country, or creditable to it in the eyes of other nations, that Great Britain should, at the same time, be requiring petty chiefs in various parts of the world to put down Slave-raiding, and be affording its sanction, if not its protection, to Slavery in its own Protectorates.

Wherefore your Petitioners humbly pray that your Honourable House will be pleased to take immediate measures for the entire abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade in the Protectorates of Great Britain, especially in Zanzibar and Pemba.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.



ARTHUR PEASE, *President.*
JOSEPH ALLEN, *Treasurer.*
CHAS. H. ALLEN, *Secretary.*

55, New Broad Street, London, E.C.,

March 1st, 1895.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *March 7th.*

DEBATE ON SUPPRESSION OF SLAVERY IN ZANZIBAR.

On the Supplementary Vote of the sum of £500 for services in connection with the suppression of the Slave-trade and the maintenance of certain liberated Africans,

Mr. J. A. PEASE said that he should move a reduction in this Vote, as a protest against an expenditure which fails to accomplish its object—viz., the suppression of Slavery and the Slave-trade. There was a system of domestic Slavery existing on the mainland between the East Coast of Africa and the large inland lakes, and with that at the present time Great Britain was not in a position to interfere. The Germans and ourselves occupied very similar positions on the mainland, and he must admit that time would have to elapse before the institution of domestic Slavery could be effectually and effectively effaced throughout these large spheres of influence. But on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba the situation was very different. In 1861, through the arbitration of Lord Canning, the influence of Great Britain became predominant on those islands ; and in 1890 Great Britain obtained absolute control over the islands under the same arrangement whereby Heligoland was ceded to Germany. But at the present time the Government were absolutely ignorant as to the extent and the condition of the Slavery for the suppression of which this vote was required. On the island of Pemba this country had not at present even a representative, and whilst the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs had stated in August last a representative had been placed there, yet last month, in reply to a question he had put, the Under-Secretary stated our representative had not yet taken up his residence. In 1844 the estimated Slave population of those islands was 360,000, and since then no record or census had been made. The Consular Report issued last year showed how ineffective the expenditure had been. In 1892 the export of cloves was 1,895,000 rupees, and in 1893 it was 2,218,000 rupees, so that the production of Slave labour had considerably increased. He had it on the authority of Sir John Kirke, our representative in that district for 28 years, that the number of Slaves on those islands was three times what it had been 10 years ago. Whether or not the Slave population had increased, was not so much the point as that the two islands were nothing but cages full of Slaves. It was absurd to go on year after year asking that House for money for services which absolutely failed to prevent the smuggling of Slaves to Pemba and Zanzibar from the mainland. The Slave population was annually decimated ; this was partly due to climatic reasons and partly due to the cruelty of the Arabs, which was notorious, and which had been graphically described by Dr. Livingstone, and the character of which he did not propose to dwell upon that afternoon. The reports, however, issued from time to time by the officers of Her Majesty's ships, to which fugitive Slaves had fled, confirmed the fact that cruelty existed. There was a decree of June 5th, 1873, which prohibited the importation of any Slave, and this expenditure on the

Estimates was aimed at securing its observance. But inasmuch as there were very few births on the islands among the Slaves, it must follow that nearly the whole of them were illegally detained, but hitherto Her Majesty's Government had denied any redress. The greater number of the Slaves in Zanzibar and Pemba came from our own Protectorate in Nyasaland. Only 10 per cent. of those taken, however, reached the coast, the other 90 per cent. perishing by the way. This anomaly existed—that our own subjects in the Nyasa Protectorate were raided and sold to our own subjects in Zanzibar, to end their lives in a condition of horrible serfdom. In their interpretation of our actions the Arabs doubted our sincerity, they saw we connived at the institution, and they were thus stimulated to ply their nefarious traffic, and continued to supply the demand, against which this vote was wholly ineffective. We must destroy the demand; it was our duty to do so and within our power. Let the Slaves on the island be emancipated, and there would be no need to come to the House for a vote like this. If we emancipated the Slaves, it would also do away with the female Slave labour employed in coaling vessels. It might be said that wages were paid for this labour, but so long as the Mohammedan law prevailed in the district and Arabs possessed property in Slaves which had value with their other goods, every penny piece these Slaves got would be forced from them, and it was admitted that they were compelled to hand all the money over to the Arabs in whose possession they were. On the mainland there was a demand by travellers, by sportsmen, and by Her Majesty's Government in connection with transport service. There was a decree of September 11th, 1891, forbidding the enlistment of any Slave outside the Sultan's dominions, and the Government derived a revenue from the enlistment of these Slaves, of whom only one out of three going inland ever returned to the coast; the Government thus openly ignored its decree but profited thereby. Two out of every three died, a fact which would be found stated in an account of the expedition for the relief of Emin Pasha undertaken by Mr. Stanley. Sir Gerald Portal's opinion was that the demand for these men could only be destroyed by the construction of a railway, and on this point he mentioned in passing that at midsummer next a vessel would be sent from the Clyde to the Victoria-Nyanza, and the cost of transport would be about £29,000, equivalent to about half the interest required to guarantee the making of a railway.

The Chairman reminded the hon. member that he must confine himself to matters relevant to the vote.

Mr. J. A. PEASE said, he was endeavouring to point out that the only effectual method of suppression was to destroy the demand, and the construction of a railway would have a direct influence in destroying the demand for Slaves. Passing from that, he pointed out that on August 22nd, 1890, a secret decree was issued which refused to a Slave the right to purchase his own freedom, and also directed the Arab master to punish a fugitive Slave.

What a reflection upon the character of the Zanzibar Administration was such a decree, and with a secret decree like that in existence, how could we expect that by spending money such as the Committee were now asked to vote, any good result could be effected? He submitted that such a decree should be at once repealed. We could not destroy altogether the demand for Slaves, for Slavery existed in Persia, in Arabia, and in Morocco; we could not kill the trade altogether, but we could do a great deal by uniform and concerted action with other Powers. We could prevent a continuance of those revolting practices, such as were carried on at Hodeidah on the Red Sea for the supply of eunuchs. These things were done daily, but a vigorous protest to the Turkish Government should put an end to them. Our policy had been a ridiculous and expensive failure. We might at least save £100,000 per annum in naval expenditure, in the maintenance of a station, with the object of intercepting Slaves. We were too lethargic, we depended too much on the gradual growth of civilising influences. We allowed a state of things to continue which retarded progress and development, which naturally arose where native races came into contact with European; we delayed that commercial development which would be of advantage to our industrial population at home. He asked that the Government should emancipate the Slaves upon the islands, abolish the legal status of Slavery on the mainland, repeal the decree of 1890—and he urged them to construct the railway to get rid of those evils on the mainland to which he had alluded. The Government, to its credit, be it said, had recently taken action to put an end to Armenian atrocities, but outrages equally abominable were perpetrated upon these Slaves, and certainly the amount of suffering outweighed the atrocities perpetrated in Armenia. He hoped the Government would show themselves equally sensitive of the evil deeds committed under the British flag for the last five years. Mr. Lecky, the historian, classed our unwearied, unostentatious, and inglorious crusade against Slavery in the past among the three or four perfectly virtuous acts recorded in the history of nations, but to justify that good opinion we must entirely alter our present policy, and then such votes as this would not be required. He trusted that an assurance would be forthcoming that the stain and reproach on our national honour would be removed. He moved the reduction of the vote by £100.

Question proposed, that a reduced sum of £400 be granted.

The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir E. GREY) said, this was not a Foreign Office vote, and certainly he was not prepared to enter at any great length into the policy of the Foreign Office in regard to the difficulties of the law, for he had not anticipated having to make a statement that evening. He would, however, do his best to meet the points raised by his hon. friend. First, he would say of the Committee that it should be borne in mind in estimating this question of Slavery in Zanzibar, that only since 1890 had there been a British Protectorate, and he did not think there was much to be gained by going back to events which occurred

previously. The usual practice—he would not say it was without exceptions—but the general practice hitherto had been that when a British Protectorate was assumed over a native state, that native state was allowed freedom so far as its domestic institutions were concerned. Against the Slave-trade the British Government had made, and would continue to make, constant warfare; but the institution of domestic Slavery was common to all Mohammedan countries, and certainly it had not been our general practice, upon assuming a Protectorate, to force a complete change in the institutions which had heretofore obtained in a native state. In addition to this, it must be borne in mind that a law passed by the late Sultan of Zanzibar, and to which he had on a former occasion made reference, restricted and regulated the institution of Slavery, and the details of that law would have the result of bringing Slavery in the island to an end within a comparatively limited time. Since he had been at the Foreign Office this question of Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba had occupied the attention of officers on the spot. There had been reports from British representatives in Zanzibar dealing with this question of Slavery, and, upon the whole, the reports possessed by the Foreign Office tended rather to show that the difficulties in the way of putting an end to the institution of Slavery in the island were considerably greater than his hon. friend estimated them to be; that the hardships connected with Slavery in the island were considerably less, and that clandestine importation of Slaves was not so great as it had been represented to be in some published statements. On the whole that was the tendency of reports received up to the present time. Now the time had come when, having got this information, having taken all things into consideration, the Government had to consider whether they could be regarded as a complete answer to the very strong statement of his hon. friend. He was convinced that, though the difficulty of putting an end to Slavery might be underestimated by his hon. friend, though certain consequences might occur from taking any strong steps, consequences which, perhaps, were not contemplated by members who advocated that cause, still there was at the same time one very serious consideration to be borne in mind, that so long as the institution of Slavery existed on these two islands, so long was there a temptation to evade the Sultan's regulations, so long was there a temptation to evade British cruisers, and to smuggle Slaves into the islands. It had also to be borne in mind, that not only was there in these islands a British Protectorate, but in a very intimate sense, British influence and interests were concerned in the administration of affairs. He freely admitted we had now arrived at such a position in regard to these islands, that he thought the House would be perfectly justified in insisting that the period of time during which Slavery would continue to exist must be limited. But, still, a little further information was required. Up to the present time the Foreign Office had no information as to the condition of Pemba. The present Government had taken steps to obtain this information; they had sent a vice-consul to

Pemba specially instructed to collect information as to the condition of the people in regard to Slavery, and to furnish information which might tend to throw more light on the question, and help the Government to come to a decision as to what might be done. His hon. friend had recommended three courses. He alluded to a certain decree issued, and then withdrawn, the effect of which would be to fix the money price at which a Slave should be entitled to purchase his own freedom. His hon. friend recommended that this decree should be re-established, that the status of Slavery should be abolished, by which he meant, he concluded, not the declared emancipation of every Slave——

Mr. J. A. PEASE, interrupting, explained that he did not advocate the re-enactment of the previous decree, because, personally, he did not think it was right that anybody should obtain an acknowledgment of right of property in a Slave. What he did advocate was that the second decree of August 20th, 1890, should be repealed.

Sir EDWARD GREY thought that was pretty much what he had said. The second point was that the status of Slaves should be abolished, by which he understood his hon. friend to mean not that there should be special emancipation of all the Slaves in the islands, but that Slaves should be entitled to appeal to the Courts for redress.

Mr. J. A. PEASE said, that on the islands he advocated emancipation pure and simple ; but on the mainland, where domestic Slavery and not plantation Slavery existed, he advocated the abolition of the legal status.

Sir EDWARD GREY said, he could not, of course, hold out any hope to the Committee that they could, by one enactment, emancipate at one stroke all the Slaves on the islands ; but the question of the abolition of the status, as sketched out by his hon. friend with reference to the mainland, was another matter, and, though he could not say that the Government would pledge themselves to that course, it was one worthy of consideration. The third point was that the law previously passed by the Sultan should be strictly enforced, and he had no hesitation in saying that the Sultan's Government would do their utmost to secure that. But although, with regard to the withdrawal of a certain decree which had previously been issued and the abolition of Slavery on the islands, he could not pledge Her Majesty's Government, yet during the course of the last two months they had sent instructions to our representative in Zanzibar to furnish a report as to the steps which should be taken with a view of bringing the status of Slavery to an end in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba at an early date. Therefore he was able to say that *the object his hon. friend had advocated was one not only the importance but the necessity of which Her Majesty's Government admitted*, as they had already asked for a report with the view of considering what were the best steps that could be taken. Until that report was given it was impossible for him to say more ; but he ought to tell the Committee that, according to the intimation which he had received on this subject, it was

shown very clearly that at first at any rate the termination of the status of Slavery would result in a tremendous falling off in the revenues of Zanzibar. His own opinion, from information he had received, was that that would be the temporary result. The place of the Slave labour would not be taken immediately by free labour, and undoubtedly there would be very great hardship on the two islands and a great falling off in the revenue. That would for some years, in his opinion, be the case. He would like it to be distinctly understood that he admitted that there ought to be an abolition of the status ; but, although the present Government was now considering what means could be taken to attain that object, if the House was to approve of the abolition by Her Majesty's Government it ought also to be prepared, if the necessity arose after steps had been taken, to fall back on the vote of the House, he did not say for the compensation of Slavery, but to come to the assistance of the revenues of Zanzibar.

Captain BETHELL said, that Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba was in a very curious position ; although the British flag did not fly there, yet they were actual dependencies of this country. That being so, the question was—was the honour of this country tainted by the existence of Slavery ? It was not a question of a few thousand pounds, but a question of what had been the policy of this country in the past, and whether the institution of Slavery ought to exist there. He thought the Government ought to look at this question more liberally than they had done in the past. The edicts of the Sultan had not, he believed, been strictly observed, and the Government had the power of seeing that those edicts were enforced. Considering the peculiar position of the two islands, he thought the Government ought to take speedy steps for the emancipation of Slaves.

Sir R. TEMPLE rose to support the hon. member, who moved the reduction of the vote, and he hoped that it would be seen by a division whether or not the House of Commons was prepared to insist upon the abolition of Slavery in Zanzibar. We had allowed these two islands to be virtually the Slave market for the mainland. Africans were actually hunted and raided within regions under the sphere of British influence. He did not think that Wilberforce and his collaborators would have believed that such a scandal would have been permitted in the second generation after their labours. Such circumstances, as had been calmly detailed that evening by the hon. baronet, were enough to make the bones of Wilberforce turn in his grave. This was the third occasion on which the matter had been brought before the House, and on each occasion they had had the usual stereotyped reply. He admitted that on this occasion the reply went a little farther than it did before, but they had heard any time during this last two or three years that inquiry was being made. The hon. baronet calmly told the House that if this was abolished there would be a falling in the revenues of the Sultan of Zanzibar. That was what his argument amounted to. (Sir E. GRAY.—No.) He would ask the House to remember the sacrifices made in the West Indies, and by England herself, for the freeing of the Slaves. The hon. baronet did say that the revenues would be seriously diminished, and he did not say that the plantations would be ruined, or that there would be very great private distress. The mover of the amendment had shown that Slave labour had really increased in Zanzibar, and that it was flourishing more than ever. He had also shown how that the decrees issued by the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR to abolish

the Slave-trade had been treated simply as waste paper. Our officers at Zanzibar had not acted with the firmness which British administrators had shown elsewhere, simply because the instructions sent to them from home were not sufficiently urgent. Hon. members of that House were somewhat to blame too in the matter, by not insisting by large majorities that the Government should act promptly and resolutely. It was time that the present vacillating policy should stop, and that the Foreign Office should be made to understand that the British House of Commons had made up its mind resolutely, once for all, that the system of Slavery should be abolished. (Hear, hear.)

Sir E. GREY said, the hon. baronet seemed not to have quite understood what he had said the Government had done in the matter. What he intended to convey was that some little time ago, before the session began, the Government sent out instructions to the British representatives on the spot to report as to what steps it would be best to take to bring the system of Slavery referred to an end. Obviously, until that report was received, he could not pledge the Government to take any particular steps in the question. But the thing had to be done (cheers), and the Government had asked for a report from those best able to judge as to the best means of doing it. He had said that the result would very likely be that the revenues of Zanzibar would be affected—that they would fall—by the abolition of the system of Slavery, and he thought so still; but it would be the duty of the Government, whatever Government was in power, to apply to that House to come the rescue of those revenues.

Sir C. DILKE said, the steps taken by the Government had been taken two years too late. The Foreign Office had failed to appreciate the gravity of the situation, and he still held the view he had previously expressed—that so long as this Protectorate remained under the Foreign Office they would have the difficulty with them. He ventured to say, that if the Protectorate had been under the Colonial Office, the system of Slavery would have been put an end to four years ago. Backed up by the House of Commons, the Colonial Office would have acted promptly and decisively in the matter. Some years ago there had been Slavery in a new British Protectorate under the Colonial Office, in the Malay Peninsula, and the same reasons had been adduced for leaving it alone which were given now, but it had been soon put a stop to; and when the Under-Secretary declared that we should have to vote moneys towards the revenues of Zanzibar, he had to say that a similar claim might have been made for voting money towards the revenues of Perak, and that nobody even thought of doing anything of the kind. He should offer uncompromising resistance to any such proposal.

Mr. J. W. LOWTHER thought the real remedy for the evil had been strangely overlooked in the discussion. They had been spending large sums of money almost uselessly year after year in combating the evil, when all the time they might have put a stop to the raiding for Slaves and the bringing of the caravans to the coast by building a railway. The whole question was considered by the eminent men who met at Brussels, and in the very first article in the Brussels Act they stated that the most effective way, if not the only effective way, of stopping this Slave traffic was by the construction of railways.

Mr. LABOUCHERE rose to a point of order. He wished to know whether the hon. member was in order in raising the question of the expediency of

building railways in Africa. Personally he had no objection, for he was prepared to go into the whole question if it were raised.

Mr. J. W. LOWTHER had no wish to raise the whole question of building railways in Africa, but he had mentioned it to show that there was another and more effective remedy for dealing with the evil than those which had been advocated.

Sir C. W. DILKE, on the point of order, said that the mover of the amendment, when he began to refer to the subject of railways in Africa, was called to order by the Chairman. If the point could be referred to now it would not be quite fair that those who raised this question of the Slave-trade should be laid open to the reproach of not bringing forward this particular point, seeing that the mover of the amendment was prevented from doing so.

The CHAIRMAN said that the hon. member for Penrith (Mr. LOWTHER) would not be in order to discuss the whole question of railways. He understood the hon. member to refer to the question only incidentally.

Mr. J. W. LOWTHER said he would not pursue the point farther, but it did seem extraordinary to hear that the House should go on year after year voting large sums to grapple with the evil, and neglect to take the one effective means of destroying it at its very source. As to abolishing Slavery in Zanzibar at once, he had some doubt—he thought the first step we should take in the matter was to refuse entirely to acknowledge the status of Slavery; and if that were done, the Slave-owners would gradually come to understand that, in these circumstances, that status could no longer exist. In that way they might arrive at a solution of the question without resort to violent measures.

Colonel LOCKWOOD asked why, if the Foreign Office were impressed with the importance of the question, they did not send for a report two years ago as to the best means of putting an end to the evil. (Hear, hear.) There had been ample time for them to have got a report and to have acted upon it. He was astonished to hear the Under-Secretary state as a reason for consideration in the matter that the revenues of Zanzibar would suffer if the system of Slavery was abolished. Let them suffer; the point was a very small one, and should not influence their action in putting down the evil. (Hear, hear.) He believed that if British officers at Zanzibar had had definite and urgent instructions to put a stop to the Slave-trade, they would not have failed to act on them. Members of both parties now believed that almost culpable neglect had been exhibited in this matter. It was not a question of party; it was a question of suffering humanity. And no reference to the revenues of the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR ought to have been introduced in a matter that concerned the honour of England and of her flag. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN thought there could be no doubt as to the very grave importance of the subject, which undoubtedly touched the honour and reputation of this country. The hon. member for Tyneside in his very interesting speech really dealt with two subjects, which it would be desirable to keep entirely separate. The first point which the hon. gentleman raised was really the question of the policy of the Government with regard to the Slave-trade. That constituted an opposition to the whole of this vote. Those who thought with the hon. member for Tyneside—and he undoubtedly shared the hon. member's opinion on this point—believed that the whole of our recent policy with regard to the Slave-trade had been a mistake. We were dealing with the matter where we could deal with it to the least

advantage and not to the greatest advantage. He was not disinclined to accept the assurance of the Under-Secretary that when these Slaves found themselves in Zanzibar they were subject to what was called domestic Slavery, and that their condition was not one of very great hardship. That might possibly be true. The suffering occurred upon the route. It was not the existence of the Slaves when they got to Zanzibar, it was the provision of the Slaves, and all the circumstances which attended upon that provision, that was the difficulty. That being the case, it was of supreme importance to deal with the matter at the fountain head—to prevent the Slave raids and the Slave traffic. That was of infinitely more importance than to deal with the Slaves when they were once on the island. That was one point raised by the hon. member, and the hon. member and those who thought with him would be only consistent if on that point they took a division against the whole vote. He did not deny that, to a certain extent, a question of that kind, inasmuch as it undoubtedly involved an attack upon the policy of the Government, must be considered a party question. Of course, there might be independent members of either party who would not vote with their party on that matter. But this was a great question of Government policy and ought to be kept entirely distinct from the other question raised by the hon. gentleman, which was in no sense a party question. The other point was—Was it consistent with all that we had done and said in the past that what was practically the British flag should fly over Slavery? That was what had been going on for the last four years, and some of them thought it was quite time it came to an end. That question should be decided upon the amendment of the hon. member. He sympathised with the position of the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. They knew that no Under-Secretary in that House could commit his chief to a policy which had not been previously decided upon. But the hon. baronet had shown considerable sympathy with the object they had in view; and if the Committee, he would not say by an unanimous vote, for that was not possible, but by the vote of a large majority, showed the Government that there was a universal opinion, on all sides of the House, that the present state of things in the islands should come to a very speedy close, they would strengthen the hon. baronet's hands and the hands of his department to proceed in the direction which the hon. baronet had shadowed forth. The hon. baronet had made a sort of appeal to the House—it was in that sense that he understood the hon. baronet's allusion to the effect on the revenues of Zanzibar. He said to the House of Commons :—

“If you now press us to put an end to Slavery in Zanzibar, we may have to come to you hereafter and ask you for a vote of money.”

Let the Committee answer that when he came for that money they would grant it. They would make an answer of that kind if they voted for this amendment. He, therefore, hoped that without the least regard to party, or to the first question raised by the hon. member, they would proceed to vote upon the immediate issue whether or not in their opinion Slavery ought to go on in these islands; and whether or not they, as the representatives of the British people, were prepared to pay the cost whatever it might be.

Mr. J. A. PEASE asked leave to withdraw his amendment. He did so on two grounds. In the first place, the money had been spent and they ought to vote it. In the second place, he desired that the question should be raised above party. The statement of the Under-Secretary “that the thing has got to be done”—that Slavery must be terminated—was a step to the credit of

the present Government which the late Government refused to take. After the statement of the right hon. member for West Birmingham and the way it was received, it would be perfectly obvious to the country that the House of Commons was prepared to meet any deficit that might arise. He therefore thought they might now leave the question in the hands of the Government.

Leave to withdraw the amendment was refused.

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON said, it was rather touching to find that the hon. member who brought the question forward shrank from the success which appeared to be likely to attend his exertions. He, however, desired to offer some considerations why the Committee should pause before voting with the hon. member. The House had in the last two years given some votes with highly philanthropic intentions which it afterwards had reason to regret. The vote given for the appointment of the Opium Commission was one of which he thought some members felt they had reason to be ashamed. Hon. gentlemen had expressed the greatest readiness to make up to the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR any loss that might accrue to him from the sudden abolition of Slavery in his dominions. He was not sure that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had subscribed to these little promises, and he rather thought this was one of the cases in which they would be philanthropically liberal at somebody else's expense. He observed that there were hon. members who shrank from finding the £20,000 or, perhaps, the £500,000, compensation to the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, which would stand in the way of any change. They were asked to censure the Government for the slowness with which they had proceeded to accomplish the abolition of Slavery in Zanzibar, and to induce them to take more active steps. In the time of the late Government a good deal was done in the direction of the abolition of Slavery in Zanzibar. A great deal of money had been spent in stopping the seaboard Slave-trade, but very little could be done in that way. They must stop the trade at its source. (Hear, hear.) With the view of abolishing Slavery in the Sultan's dominions, the late Government procured the issue of decrees by which no Slave could be inherited and none could be introduced, so that the institution of Slavery was now in process of extinction through the operation of these decrees. Was not that what was done when Parliament decided to abolish Slavery in the West Indies? It had always been recognised that a sudden change could not be made. The present Government had been watching the operations of the measures taken by the late Government; and they had been making inquiries with the view of taking other measures. He could not conscientiously vote for an amendment intended to censure the Government for not taking more active steps, while the measures initiated by the late Government and designed at no distant date to terminate the status of Slavery in the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR'S dominions were in operation.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, it was the unanimous opinion of the House that every measure that was possible should be taken for the purpose of putting down Slavery. That was the policy of this Government, as it was of the last Government, and would be of future Governments. But the House must look at the matter from a practical point of view and see what measures were necessary. The right hon. gentleman the member for West Birmingham had initiated a counter policy, that the exertions of this country should be made not so much upon the coast as in the centre. He did not think that policy would be supported by the hon. member for

Northampton (Mr. LABOUCHERE.—“No, no,” and laughter), yet he was going to vote with the member for West Birmingham.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN.—My right hon. friend has misunderstood me. I regard that as an entirely separate and distinct question. What I am voting against now is the continuance of Slavery in the island.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that in dealing with these countries they must deal with them according to their actual condition, and he would ask the House to consider what would be the effect on our relations with Zanzibar of coming to a resolution of the character suggested by the right hon. gentleman. He could quite conceive a vote of that House changing the whole condition of things in Zanzibar, and that would have a very serious effect on our relations with Zanzibar. This was, he understood, intended to be a declaration in favour of an immediate change in the condition of things in Zanzibar, and he did not think that that would be a wise policy to pursue. All he could say, on behalf of the Government, was that they accepted the view that it was the duty of the Government to use their exertions at the earliest possible moment to put an end to Slavery both in Zanzibar and elsewhere. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. LABOUCHERE pointed out that England took up this protectorate over Zanzibar five years ago. For two and a half years the Government of right hon. gentlemen opposite did nothing, and during the last two and a half years right hon. gentlemen now sitting on the Treasury bench had done nothing except to tell the House that they would do something. (Hear, hear.) The object of this vote was simply to state that the House desired that some action should be taken at once to put an end to the abominable state of things which existed in what was practically a British protectorate. In Pemba there was not one single free labourer. Not only was the acreage under cultivation increasing, but there was every year a large importation of Slaves into the island. The cruelty, too, was so great that a Slave wore himself out in ten years. He did not think it would be desirable to extend our conquest in the centre of Africa. Nothing could be gained by that so long as we kept a place for the purchase of these stolen goods within our own territory. If the market were done away with the trade would be done away with. (Hear, hear.) He thought the House ought to agree to vote with his hon. friend the member for Tyneside, or, at all events, for his proposal. His hon. friend was no doubt most anxious that hon. gentlemen should vote for him, but he was in rather a peculiar position as the private secretary to a minister, and it was exceedingly difficult for him to press this motion when it was said that ministers were opposed to it. He hoped, therefore, that hon. members would do what his hon. friend wished them to do and not what he said he would rather they did not do. (Laughter and “hear, hear”.)

Sir J. HIBBERT explained that the vote before the House was for money which had been earned by Her Majesty's ship *Philomel*, and, therefore, if the House refused the vote they would not be censuring the Government but punishing the officers and crew of the *Philomel*, a body of men who had done everything they could to serve their country. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. R. W. HANBURY said, it was quite possible to get the money for the crew of the *Philomel* by putting up another vote. He wished to express his regret that the right hon. gentleman who spoke from the Front Bench

on his side of the House had made a speech of a party character. With regard to the Slavery in Pemba, there was not a pin to choose between the two sides of the House, and, therefore, this could not be a party matter. For 2½ years the late Government were responsible for this policy, and if anyone was to blame they were, because they set the example to right hon. gentlemen opposite. He did not think that the issue could be avoided by such an excuse as that made by the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. England was entirely responsible for the administration of affairs in Pemba. He had travelled a good deal in those countries, and he had never met with domestic Slavery in the aggravated form in which it existed in Pemba. The lot of the domestic Slave was not, after all, usually a very bad one, but the kind of Slavery going on in Pemba was of a great deal worse description. England was still more responsible, because under her rule these Slaves had largely increased in number, and, therefore, there was a very much larger market for them. When we suppressed Slavery on the West Coast of Africa, we carried it out heartily, and at great cost to this country, but our treatment of Slavery on the East Coast had been a very much more half-hearted matter ; in fact, it had had the effect of greatly increasing the horrors of the trade. All we did was to divert the trade from the old routes, and the result was that the Slaves had to be taken by much longer routes, the horrors of the trade being very much increased thereby. He knew that we had had serious difficulties with France, but whether that was so or not, it did seem to him that there was little ground for the outcries we made against the evils of misgovernment in Armenia under Turkish rule, when two great European powers who were responsible for the state of things on the East Coast of Africa were acting there as France and England were acting.

Mr. J. H. DALZIEL appealed to the Government to define their position a little more clearly. It was plain that there was a strong feeling on both sides of the House that there certainly had been a remarkable absence of enthusiasm on the part of the Government in the cause of the suppression of the Slave-trade. If the Foreign Office had been determined to put down Slavery in Zanzibar, it would have been done two years ago, or even before. At the same time, it was not quite true to say that the present Government had done nothing in the matter, for they had appointed a Commission of some kind to go out and report as to the best method of putting down the Slave-trade.

Sir EDWARD GREY : To ask for a Report from people on the spot.

Mr. DALZIEL supposed that this meant that the Government had made up their minds to put down Slavery, and were only waiting to ascertain what was the best plan to adopt. That, however, was not made quite plain in the speech of the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and he wished to ask whether the Government would give a pledge, before the division was taken, that they would act promptly after receiving the Report, and whether, in the event of the Report not embodying recommendations that could be accepted, the Government would undertake to do what they could on their own initiative to put down Slavery in Zanzibar ? Unless the Government meant business, he should feel compelled to oppose the withdrawal of the amendment.

Sir EDWARD GREY said that he thought it only fair to explain at the beginning of his speech that there were certain difficulties in the way of the fulfilment of the wishes of hon. members. He had explained that a Report had been asked for, not as to whether the thing could be done, but as to the

best means of doing it. He had also said, he thought, that the thing had got to be done. He had pointed out the difficulties in the way only for the purpose of explaining why steps had not been taken before. When he alluded to the possible effect of a change in the present state of affairs upon the revenues of Zanzibar, he did not do so because he thought that that course was an insuperable objection ; but because he thought it fair to give a warning that the effect of the change must be to necessitate a future vote. If a vote should be proposed by any Government in the future, for the purpose of putting an end to Slavery at Pemba, or Zanzibar, he should be delighted to support it.

Mr. T. BAYLEY thought that the reason for taking over the island of Zanzibar was that we should have the power to stop the Slave-trade in Africa. We had now had the island for five years, and during those years there ought to have been an inquiry as to the best method of putting an end to Slavery. His vote that day would not be given in favour of the Government who were asking for two or three more years for inquiry. The time for inquiry was over, and the time for action had come. Action ought to be taken within two or three months, and this disgrace to the honour of England ought to be wiped away. It was asserted freely that there were to-day British subjects in Zanzibar who owned Slaves. It had always been stated by the Law Officers of the Crown that these Slaves were held illegally, and they ought to be free men by the laws of this country. Only a small proportion of these Slaves were domestic Slaves. Most of them were made to work very hard by their task-masters, who were, very probably, using capital supplied from this country. He had seen it stated that these Slaves lived only from three to five years.

Mr. J. HOWARD wished it to be understood that hon. members on his side of the House were not going to vote from party considerations. They were glad that an opportunity had been found to bring the subject of Slavery in Zanzibar before the House and the country. He trusted that what had been said would stimulate the Government to do that which was right, and so to maintain the honour of this country, which, he regretted to say, had not been maintained in this matter as it ought to have been, by every Government.

Sir J. M. CARMICHAEL was glad that they had obtained a pledge from the Government that the Slave-trade would be abolished in the islands under discussion. The Government had called for a Report from Zanzibar, not as to whether it was desirable to abolish the Slave-trade, but as to the best means by which its abolition could be accomplished, and the Government had pledged themselves to effect the abolition of the trade in Zanzibar and Pemba after receiving this Report. Being satisfied with the assurance that had been given, he should support the Government ; but he reserved his right to vote against them on this question if, within a certain period, their pledges should remain unfulfilled.

The Committee divided :—Ayes 106 ; Noes 153.

April 2nd.

MOMBASA RAILWAY AND SLAVERY.

Mr. JOSEPH A. PEASE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether her Majesty's Government, having regard to the fact that terms have been now concluded with the Imperial British East Africa Company, will take steps to construct a railway from Mombasa towards Lake Victoria-Nyanza :

What number of Slaves up to the present time have been engaged at Zanzibar as porters upon which a deposit has been paid to the Government agent under the proclamation of 17th October, 1894, and what is the amount of the deposit :

And, whether the representatives of her Majesty's Government at Zanzibar have yet reported as to the best method of promptly terminating the institution of Slavery ; if not, when was the report asked for, and when is it expected.

Sir E. GREY said—The terms offered have only just been accepted by the East Africa Company, and I cannot add to the answer which was given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer the other day. We have no information as to the second paragraph of my hon. friend's question. The despatch to Mr. HARDINGE instructing him to send the report in question was sent on November 27th last ; the report was received last Wednesday. Mr. HARDINGE has since telegraphed to ask that a final decision as to the steps to be taken may be postponed till further information which is being collected has been received. The Vice-Consul is now taking up his residence at Pemba, about the interior of which nothing has hitherto been known, and we expect to receive further and important information from him.

April 3rd.

Mr. YERBURGH asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he was aware that an Anti-Slavery Memorial had been forwarded to the Prime Minister from the Wesleyan Methodist body, assembled in their quarterly Meeting, appealing to the Government to suppress the Slave Trade in its possessions under its East African Protectorate ; and whether, seeing that it was laid down by all authorities that, as was pointed out in the memorial, one of the most effective methods of destroying the Slave Trade was to make railways, the Government would, as soon as their negotiations with the British East Africa Company were completed, proceed with the construction of a railway from Mombasa to Victoria Nyanza.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—When the transactions with the East Africa Company are completed that question will be carefully considered by the Government.

April 4th.

AFRICA AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

Commander BETHELL asked the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether the Arab Slave-traders on the upper sources of the Congo had been conquered and destroyed, and their two principal towns, Nyangwa and Kasooge, rased to the ground ; and what measures had been or were to be taken by her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar to prevent Tippo Tib, the great Slave-trader, from carrying on his traffic in Slaves.

Sir E. GREY.—It appears from the reports published in Brussels that the forces of the Congo State have conquered the Arab Slave-traders and destroyed their towns, but we have no further means of information. Tippo Tib is now in Zanzibar. There is no reason to believe that he is attempting to engage in the Slave Trade in any territory under British control.

Mr. P. SMITH asked the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether any of the districts injured by the recent swarms of locusts in Eastern Equatorial Africa were within the British sphere of influence, and what were the districts injured within the German area ; whether he anticipated any serious destitution in either sphere ; and, if so, whether he was taking any steps to prevent the increase in the slave trade to the coast plantations and to the islands likely to result from such destitution ; whether he was aware that natives wanting work dare not go to Pemba or the other islands for fear of being enslaved ; and whether he would take the opportunity of abolishing the

status of slavery in the islands, so as to make it possible for destitute natives to seek work there without the danger of being ensnared into slavery.

Sir E. GREY.—We have heard of serious damages by locusts in the districts near Machahos and Kikuyu, in the British sphere, and in Bondei, Usagara, and Lindi, in the German sphere, but it was hoped that the subsequent rains would relieve the scarcity which resulted. There is no reason to anticipate any increase in the Slave Trade in consequence. We have not heard that natives are unwilling to go to Pemba for fear of being enslaved, but, as I have previously stated, the question of the best method of putting an end to the status of slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba is now being considered.

April 25th.

MOMBASA AND UGANDA RAILWAY.

In reply to Sir A. ROLLIT, Sir E. GREY said: The question of the railway in East Africa is under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, but I am not able at present to make any statement on the subject.

BRITISH SUBJECTS AND SLAVE LABOUR.

Mr. THOMAS BAYLEY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether a contract had been entered into with an English firm at Zanzibar to convey a Government steamer from the coast to the Victoria-Nyanza lake; whether the contractor was allowed to employ Zanzibar Slaves to carry portions of the steamer and the necessary fittings; and whether the edict originating in Sir Gerald Portal's warning that the employment of Slaves by British subjects in those caravans encouraged the Slave-trade had recently been made void; if so, for what cause.

Sir E. GREY said that a launch had been bought from an English firm, which had contracted to deliver it on the Victoria-Nyanza. The contractor would have to comply with the existing regulations of the Zanzibar Government for the engagement of porters so far as they were recruited in Zanzibar. The chief origin of the edict alluded to was the scarcity of labour in Zanzibar, and it had no special reference to Slaves. It was considered that the interests of Zanzibar and the good treatment of the porters' employers were protected by the present regulations.

April 29th.

SLAVERY IN ZANZIBAR.

Mr. LABOUCHERE asked the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether it was a fact, as stated by Sir JOHN KIRK, that in the last ten years the quantity of cloves picked in Zanzibar and Pemba has increased threefold; what was the number of Slaves in the island of Pemba ten years ago, and what it was now; from whence the Slaves introduced into the island in the last ten years had come; whether there was any free labour in the island of Pemba; whether a code of rules in regard to Slaves used as porters in the caravans from the coast inland had recently been published obliging those hiring them to pay ten rupees per head to the Mohammedan Court, to lodge £10 per head, to pay down two months' wages in advance, not to pay any wages to the porters during their absence, and to sign a bond which compelled them to bring all porters back; and whether, in the event of a Slave dying in the interior, the owner might claim the £10 deposited and all wages accrued, so that the £10 thus forfeited left the Slave-owner a profit on the purchase of the Slave.

Sir E. GREY.—Papers are about to be laid which will give full information as to the position of Slavery and the Slave-trade in Zanzibar and Pemba. No regulations

have been drawn up in regard to the employment of Slaves as porters. The regulations as to the engagement and treatment of porters contain provisions of the nature indicated. A Slave-owner has no *locus standi* under the regulations.

May 10th.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Mr. T. BAYLEY asked the ATTORNEY-GENERAL whether, in fulfilling the contract to carry a boat from Zanzibar to the lakes in the interior, the contractors, being British subjects, would be entitled to hire Slaves; or whether the prohibition of British subjects to own Slaves extends equally to the hiring of Slaves for long or short periods.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL, in reply, stated that it was unlawful for any British subject to accept, receive, or detain against his will any person as a Slave within the territories of the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR. It was not in his province to state what was going forward in Zanzibar, but he was informed the law was not being violated.

Mr. J. A. Pease on his Motion.

To the Editor of "THE TIMES."

SIR,—There seems to be a disposition in some quarters to misinterpret the vote I gave on Friday night last against my own motion to reduce the Supplementary Estimate for the suppression of Slavery.

I moved the reduction of the vote in conformity with the recognised Parliamentary practice of calling attention to a subject upon a vote in Supply, and I thereby sought to direct attention to the failure of the policy adopted since 1890 for the suppression of slavery in British East African protectorates.

During the course of the debate Sir Edward Grey pointed out that Her Majesty's Government had already decided to take action to bring the institution of Slavery to an end, and was now waiting for a report from those on the spot as to the best method to be adopted.

There seemed to me to be no good object served by my further resisting a vote for money earned by a crew in performing their duty in intercepting Slave dhows, and I asked leave to withdraw my motion. This, however, was refused, and an interpretation was sought to be placed upon my motion that a hostile vote thus secured would indicate a determination on the part of the House that Slavery should be abolished under our flag.

Sir James Fergusson and Mr. James W. Lowther, speaking from the front Opposition bench, made it obvious that they were content with the anti-Slavery policy pursued by the late Government. Even if I had therefore placed the same interpretation upon the vote taken upon my motion as those members did who desired the defeat of the Government, I should have been voting with a party who refused to acknowledge through their official leaders the futility of the very policy I had censured, and with a section of the Radical party who are opposed to the construction of a railway which Sir Gerald Portal reported was the only method of effectively destroying the

Slave-trade within a reasonable time, and voting against a Government who had at least pledged itself that "the thing should be done" (*i.e.*, the institution of Slavery abolished) and "at the earliest possible moment." I felt I had, therefore, no alternative but to vote against my own motion, which was purely formal in character.

I am, yours faithfully,

Darlington, *March 11th.*

JOSEPH A. PEASE.

The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

THE interesting discussion which took place at the Meeting for Sufferings on the 1st inst. must have convincingly demonstrated the cordial agreement in aim between the Society of Friends and the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. Having previously quoted in this periodical the full text of the fundamental constitution of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY with regard to the absolutely peaceable character of all its operations, there is no necessity to refer to it again, except to reassert how strongly the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY maintains and persistently acts on that principle. In the meetings of the Committee of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY it rarely happens that the majority of those present are not members of our own Society, so that it is clear that Friends have now, as they have had in the past, a preponderating voice in its deliberations. Our late honoured friend EDMUND STURGE, in companionship with JOSEPH COOPER and STAFFORD ALLEN, for many years inspired the policy of the Committee with a peaceable and unflinching spirit as the undaunted friends of the downtrodden African, and at the same time the uncompromising exponent of a strictly Peace policy as opposed to all armed intervention. This unswerving attitude is thoroughly maintained.

At the present time we have on the Committee of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY such men as ARTHUR PEASE, ARTHUR ALBRIGHT, JAMES CLARK, CALEB R. KEMP, HENRY GURNEY, CEPHAS BUTLER, JOHN HENRY LLOYD, and ALFRED E. PEASE, and other Friends who have more recently joined it, as well as JOSEPH GUNDY ALEXANDER, who for more than eighteen years had been an active member and a fairly regular attender of the Committee throughout that period. Such men are a guarantee to an uncompromising Peace policy. We feel, therefore, that the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY not simply gives an abundant voucher to its claim on our confidence, but that it presents a very strong claim for our moral and liberal financial support.

We are sure that friends need no quotations from LIVINGSTONE and MOFFAT, and a host of other worthies in the past, as to the awful horrors of the Slave traffic. Slavery and the Slave-trade in Africa are undergoing phases of change year by year that demand the most vigilant and attentive watchfulness. The circumstances and relationships, and the increased weight of European responsibilities in Africa, are rapidly changing, but the evils of Slave-trading, Slave-raiding, and persistent Slavery continue in terrible proportions unchanged. Africa is no longer a romantic *terra incognita* it was a few years ago, and the public absolutely require definite facts up to date as to the state of things that exists, and we need a definite and practical programme as to the best way to effect deliverance, so that the prophecy of VICTOR HUGO may be fulfilled: "The next century will make a MAN of the African." *The Friend, March 8th.*

Three Years' Travel in the Congo State.

A Paper read before the Royal Geographical Society, in London, on March 11th, 1895, by S. L. HINDE, in the Belgian Service.

THIS paper contains a most interesting and instructive narrative of the opening up of an almost unknown portion of Central Africa, from Stanley Pool to Nyangwe, and describes the struggle between the Belgians and the Slave-raiding Arabs, the latter of whom were eventually driven out of that part of the continent. Many of the tribes met with are ferocious cannibals, and it makes one almost despair of the regeneration of Africa when one finds that so many of her own native population are so fearfully sunk in the very depths of barbarism and fiendish cruelty. We only give one or two extracts from this important paper, devoting more space to the discussion which followed its reading.

CANNIBALS.

N'Gandu was a fortified town by the river bank with four gates, each approached by a very handsome pavement of human skulls, the bregma being the only part showing above ground. I counted more than 2,000 skulls in the pavement of one gate alone. Almost every tree forming the boma was crowned with a human skull. GONGO LUTETE had himself been a Slave, but was now become one of the chief Slave-raiders. He had gathered together about 10,000 cannibal brigands, mostly of the Bateleta race.

Through the whole of the Bateleta country, extending for five days march, one sees neither grey hairs, nor halt, nor blind. Even parents are eaten by their children on the first sign of approaching decrepitude. It is easy to understand, therefore, that under these circumstances the Bateleta have the appearance of a splendid race.

FUNERAL VICTIMS.

Arriving at Lusuna's, a town described by CAMERON, we joined forces with Captain MICHAUX and GONGO LUTETE, who had already captured the place. CAMERON'S LUSUNA had died about ten months beforehand. We were told that when he was buried they cut the throats of 100 men and placed them in the grave, laid the chief's body on the top of them, threw in 100 live women, filled up the hole, and built a splendid house upon it. The house was burnt with the rest of the town after MICHAUX'S attack.

THE MOMBASA VICTORIA RAILWAY.

AFTER the reading of Monsieur S. L. HINDE'S paper, the discussion was opened by Major-General Sir FRANCIS DE WINTON, who made the following impressive remarks about the absolute necessity of building a railway from the coast to the Victoria-Nyanza. These views entirely bear out the policy so constantly put forward by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, in its numerous and widely supported appeals to the British Government. No greater authority on this question can be found than Sir FRANCIS DE WINTON, who has himself had to deplore the death of a son on the long unhealthy caravan route between the Lake and the Sea.

"The other point is with reference to what is known as the Congo Free State. The second map that was shown to you by means of the magic lantern gave the navigable portions of the different rivers.

Now they are building a railway from Matadi up to Stanley pool, a distance of about 230 to 250 miles; about one-third of it, up to Banza Mateka, is finished, and this portion being built, the railway engineers' difficulties are more or less overcome, because at the commencement they had to break through rough country and had considerable difficulty with rocky obstructions; but that is passed, and now there is only plain country with two rivers to cross, the Kurlu and Inkissi, which they are bridging. I have no hesitation in saying it will be finished in from three to five years, and once that is finished you have the whole of this great horseshoe of the Congo with all its navigable tributaries opened up to trade, with a railway to bring its produce down for the markets of Europe. Now, what does this mean?—and I wish to impress this on everybody interested in Africa, and who desires its development—that you cannot develop Africa until you get rid of what may be termed human transport. You cannot bring the products any distance without a railway, or some other means of carriage other than on men's heads. If you employ these porters, from a commercial point it cannot pay. This railway, built by the King of the Belgians, or the State (if they take it over), will open out all the navigable waters of the Congo and its tributaries. If we were to build a railway up from Mombasa, we should have the whole of this lake and the countries round the sources of the Nile open to our European markets, and until our statesmen feel the responsibilities of this question, and take a sensible and statesmanlike view of the question of transport, the development of Central Africa cannot go forward. When they do we shall open markets for our suffering poor at home and kill the Slave-trade, and, by enabling white people to live amongst them, civilize Africa in that way."

LOCUSTS.

Archdeacon CHAUNCY MAPLES: "I am afraid it is a far cry from Nyasaland to the Congo, but in African matters I think we should feel inclined to say, 'One touch of Africa makes us all akin.' There were several points in Mr. HINDE's paper on which I should like to offer a few remarks. For instance, about the locusts: people in England hardly realize the extent of this evil yet, although they have read a great deal about what a tremendous scourge these locusts have become throughout Africa. I think Mr. HINDE mentioned that the locusts visited the Congo previous to the time when they appeared on Nyasa last August, when I remember what a terrible thing it was to see them coming in clouds over us, because we knew where they were likely to stop. When I left Nyasa the dead locusts were, on some parts of the lake-shores, like sea-weed thrown up after a storm, and the stench was so great that it was impossible even for natives to pass by at certain places. They are still spreading, and no one seems able to say what will be the end. If this pest continues, at the end of the year there will be a great cry sent up to Heaven for deliverance from the scourge, and we shall be saying, 'Locusts, locusts everywhere, but not a thing to eat,' throughout the length and breadth of Africa. Mr. HINDE said something about the inquiries he had made as to when such a thing was known before. I have made inquiries too, and remember when first I went to Africa nineteen years ago, in 1876, the natives used to speak about the scourge that had taken place two or three years previously—that is, twenty-two or twenty-three years ago. I invite your attention to that, because I am afraid in a year's time you will hear terrible stories of the results

of this visitation, for the locusts mean famine, and famine means war, and the war means death; first many natives will starve to death, then war will come and carry off many of those whom the famine has not destroyed."

Slave Trade in Morocco.

To the Editor of "THE TIMES." (See ante, page 17.)

SIR,—I have lately received, from a perfectly trustworthy source, an intimation that in some of the towns in Morocco a considerable amount of Slave-trading is carried on by Jewish *protégés* of England and other Powers. By the Moorish law Jews are not allowed to buy Slaves, but this law is largely evaded, the Slave being nominally purchased by a Moor for his Jewish friend. I have before me a rather long list of the names of Jews who are the possessors of Slaves purchased in this manner, and they are all *protégés* of one or other of the Powers, not a few being under British protection. I believe that notice of this state of things has been officially reported to our Foreign Office, and I trust that during the late protracted negotiations at Fez, which resulted in the purchase of Cape Juby by Morocco from an English company, the question of dealing with the Slave-trade has not been neglected. If the Powers now represented in Morocco would but consent to put aside their jealousies, and insist upon a cessation of the scandalous Slave-trade still carried on almost within sight of Europe, no Sultan would be strong enough to withstand the pressure of a real union of the signatories of the General Act of the Brussels Conference.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

CHAS. H. ALLEN.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 55, New Broad Street,
London, E.C., April 15.

The London Chamber of Commerce and Slavery and the Slave-trade.

THROUGH the courtesy of the Secretary, MR. KENRIE B. MURRAY, we have received a copy of two memorials recently sent in to the Government by the London Chamber of Commerce. The first memorial strongly urges the construction, without delay, of a railway from Mombasa to Victoria-Nyanza; whilst the second memorial presses upon the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs the necessity for putting an end to the status of Slavery in Zanzibar, in a manner similar to that carried out in India.

We regret that want of space prevents our reprinting these memorials, but we feel convinced that they will do much to hasten the long-delayed action of the Government on both the subjects to which they refer.

A Good Word for the Anti-Slavery Society.

WE are afraid that the man in the street does not think much of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. He seems to have the notion that it is a pottering, grandmotherly kind of body, which is always meddling with the business of friendly Powers and making trouble for Downing Street—that if anything, indeed, it is a degree more mischievous in its operations than the contemned A.P.S. Now this morning we should like to say a good word for the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (a subscription would be received at 55, New Broad Street), for it has just done a piece of useful and timely work. The admirable little pamphlet by Mr. J. A. Pease, M.P., on "How we countenance Slavery," which it has issued, ought to be in the hands of every M.P. and journalist who is not fully alive to the horrors perpetrated under our authority in British East Africa. Thank Heaven, the Government is at least getting a consular report prepared on the dreadful situation in the Zanzibar region! It has need, however, of all the backing it can get if it is to carry out promptly and adequately its promise (by the mouth of Sir William Harcourt) to "use exertions at the earliest possible moment to put an end to Slavery in Zanzibar and elsewhere." Mr. Pease, collating the evidence scattered throughout a dozen different works, has placed the facts of the case in handy form, and we heartily wish the little publication a wide circulation.

BRITISH EAST AFRICAN HORRORS.

Once more let us recall some of the facts which have been set out *ad nauseam* in these columns. In the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, the administration of which is "run" by Englishmen, there are thousands of slaves (so far back as 1844 there were 360,000), and, in spite of the Sultan's Anti-Slavery decrees, they have steadily increased by annual importations, the result largely of Slave-raiding *in the British Protectorate of Nyasaland*. As probably not more than 10 per cent. of the poor wretches captured in the interior survive the journey to the coast, the horrors of the traffic may be faintly pictured. When we took over Witu on the mainland, where under the British East Africa Company's rule the status of Slavery was abolished, it was placed, in spite of protests, under Zanzibar Mohammedan law, and slavery was thereupon actually re-enacted. How illogical, to put it no more strongly, we have been in dealing with the Slave-trade may be seen from the fact that the very British cruisers engaged in the vain attempt to suppress the Slave-trade by chasing a stray dhow now and then—until it gets into shallow water and escapes—are coaled at Zanzibar entirely by Slave girls, who have been smuggled into the island in spite of the fleet's exertions, and whose earnings are promptly confiscated by their Arab masters!

AND THE REMEDIES.

More than this—as has been pointed out a dozen times—even the British Commissioner when he journeys to and from Uganda has to employ Slave labour for portage purposes. Before any caravan, political, sporting, or commercial, is allowed to start for the interior, a deposit representing the capital value of each helot is paid into the hands of our representative on the coast! We have Mr. Stanley's word for it that about 20,000 porters leave for the interior every month. The remedies for the present condition of things, which is a disgrace to our country, are obvious.

1. The Sultan must be pensioned off, and our responsibility for the good government of our East African sphere must be no longer shirked;
2. We must abolish the status of slavery as we did in India; and

3. We must build the railway from Mombasa.

As Sir Gerald Portal wrote, "To efficiently check the slave trade there is but one course open—to make a railway." The plea of expense is ridiculous. The cost of the carriage on the heads of porters of the Clyde steamer for the Victoria-Nyanza will be equivalent to half the interest on the capital required to build the railway. If slavery were to come to an end we should save from £100,000 to £200,000 a year now spent on maintaining the East Coast cruisers in the attempt to cope with the traffic at sea. This sum, as Mr. Pease states, would be more than enough to guarantee the construction of the railway, and to recoup any deficit in the Zanzibar State revenue. But we must clean out the East African Augean Stable, even although it should be—which we do not believe—a poor commercial speculation. As the Premier lately said, "Great Britain's future renown will be her heroic and self-denying exertions to destroy this iniquitous Slave-trade," "our unwearied, unostentatious, and inglorious crusade," against which in the past, to use Mr. Lecky's eloquent words, "is classed amongst the three or four perfectly virtuous acts recorded in the history of nations."—*Westminster Gazette*, APRIL 18th.

Resolution of Free Church Congress, March, 1895.

FIRST Resolution proposed 10.10 a.m.

"That the Congress, alive to the fact that Slavery and the Slave Trade still exist in Africa and require constant watchfulness for their suppression, impresses on the Church the necessity of interesting themselves in this question, and of helping with their influence and co-operation all well considered schemes directly aiming at the complete overthrow of slavery."

Proposed by Rev. LER MACKENNALL,

Seconded by Mr. D. G. ISHERWOOD (Ashton.)

April 18th, 1895.

DEAR SIR,—I beg to bring before your attention the following resolution, passed unanimously, at the annual meeting of the above-named body held on Tuesday last.

"That we view with deep regret and shame the continued existence of slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba, and other British Protectorates, whereby the honour of the nation is deeply compromised. We would, therefore, earnestly call upon Her Majesty's Government to see that the steps taken to abolish slavery in Zanzibar, and its dependencies, as well as throughout all other territories under the protection of the British Crown, be so decided and effectual that this blot on the Christian character of the nation be removed."

And remain, Faithfully Yours,

J. HUNT COOKE, *Hon. Sec.*

To CHAS. H. ALLEN, Esq.

The Anti-Slavery Question.

THE following correspondence has recently taken place in the columns of *The Western Morning News* :—

SIR,—The heart of England, or, may I rather say, of the British people, has been profoundly moved within the past month by the revelations of Armenian outrages. Will you permit me, sir, through your influential paper, to direct the thoughts of all lovers of humanity to another question crying for solution ?

My appeal is to the "Society of Friends," who have issued a pamphlet, a copy of which I have before me. In it they call attention to the horrors of the African Slave-trade "and the appalling amount of misery and suffering inflicted on its vast population."

Your space will not permit too lengthy extracts from this pamphlet, but will you find room for the following : "We have good reasons for supposing that the devastation and destruction of human lives in Equatorial Africa during the past few years have been, and, perhaps are now, as widespread and of as great a magnitude as ever." "According to such authorities as LIVINGSTONE, Cardinal LAVIGERIE, GORDON and CAMERON, about half a million lives are sacrificed yearly to the African Slave-trade." "Cardinal LAVIGERIE and CAMERON estimate that every year two millions are torn away from their homes."

In the face of such remarks, and the untold misery they reveal, I trust you will pardon me when I urge you to use your influence upon the Society of Friends to make a national appeal to the conscience of the Three Kingdoms and Wales.

Pamphlets do not reach the masses ; their circulation is limited. It must be by public meetings, and then the press would take notice. Thus these iniquities being reflected upon, a means for their suppression would be found, and through God's blessing upon this work a brighter future would result for these distressed peoples.

W. SEDGWICK SAUNDERS.

Exeter, January 3rd, 1895.

SIR,—Kindly allow me space for a few lines in reply to a letter on this subject which appeared in your issue of the 7th inst. The writer, Mr. W. S. SAUNDERS, is, very properly, shocked to find what atrocities are still carried on in Africa, and he calls upon the Society of Friends to appeal to the national conscience of the Three Kingdoms. Perhaps your correspondent is not aware that the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was founded more than half-a-century ago, mainly by the exertions of the Quakers, including such well-known names as my cousin, the late WILLIAM ALLEN, F.R.S., JOSEPH STURGE, the well-known FORSTERS, of Tottenham, uncles and father of the late Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, and many others, and that THOMAS CLARKSON was its first president.

The Quakers have always been the principal supporters of this society in its efforts to appeal to the national conscience of the Three Kingdoms. That this appeal has, from time to time, been successful, has been publicly acknowledged in the press throughout the whole country. For instance, in 1884, when the PRINCE OF WALES presided over a vast Anti-Slavery meeting held in the Guildhall of the City of London ; and in 1888, when the late Cardinal LAVIGERIE, by invitation of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, delivered in London a magnificent oration against the Slave-trade in Africa, which was reported in the press of the whole civilised world. At this meeting was passed the famous resolution drawn up by the ANTI-SLAVERY

SOCIETY, which paved the way for the debate in the House of Commons in March, 1889, that resulted in the convening of the great Conference at Brussels.

Unfortunately the enthusiasm created by such movements is apt to die away, but the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, in spite of its slender resources, is incessantly engaged in trying to arouse the national conscience. Its lecturer has, during the past two years, delivered nearly one hundred lectures, mostly with lantern slides, to many thousands of listeners, and this at a considerable outlay to the Society, the collections rarely covering the expense. Even the "Friends" have grown more or less lukewarm in the cause for which their fathers showed such great enthusiasm, and the appeal now being made in Exeter, to which your correspondent alludes, is, or was, intended to be with the view of rallying members of the Society of Friends to the support of the old and well-known ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. By the latest statistics there are nearly 19,000 Friends in the Three Kingdoms, and you may be surprised to learn that at the present moment less than 200 of that body are subscribers to the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Perhaps you will kindly enable me to let it be known, through your widely-circulated journal, that an annual subscription of ten shillings, or a donation of five pounds, gives membership in the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, with the privilege of receiving gratis a copy of its journal, so that the means of becoming acquainted with everything that is now known respecting Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the world is within the reach of almost everyone.

CHAS H. ALLEN, *Secretary.*

55, New Broad Street, London, E.C.,

January 14th, 1895.

The Royal Niger Company.

WE have been favoured with a copy of a statement issued by order of the Governor and Council of the Royal Niger Company in reply to various criticisms of the Company's action, from which we quote the following paragraph :—

"Some of the Mohammedan Emirs have also a serious grievance against the Company, because it has steadily refused to supply them with rifles or other weapons of precision. In our large region two powerful Emirs have been offended by the Company forcibly preventing their raiding the neighbouring pagan tribes, and laying the whole country desolate, killing those who resist, enslaving those who submit, and driving the remainder into the bush to die of starvation. Your Council cannot remove such grievances, but, apart from these, they know that the natives in the settled portions of the Niger territories are grateful for the establishment of British power there. On the numerous waterways which play so large a part in the communications of those regions, natives can travel for hundreds of miles in security even in small canoes, instead of, as in the old days, being seized as slaves if they ventured a few miles from their villages. On land, security to life and liberty is rapidly extending, those who are oppressed come in numbers to seek the justice of the Company, while quarrels of the innumerable tribes are constantly settled peacefully, instead of by intertribal war and Slave raiding. Your Council have never laid claim to philanthropic motives other than those which would certainly actuate any body of respectable Englishmen of the present day entrusted with such great responsibilities; but they have, at any rate, always recognised that your interests and those of Great Britain, both of which they are bound to consider, and which are, indeed, to a large extent identical, depend mainly on the justice and kindness displayed to the natives, especially in a climate where Europeans cannot permanently settle, and where all hopes of permanent development rest on a gradual elevation of the African."

The Anti-Slavery Question.

THE following correspondence has recently taken place in the columns of *The Western Morning News* :—

SIR,—The heart of England, or, may I rather say, of the British people, has been profoundly moved within the past month by the revelations of Armenian outrages. Will you permit me, sir, through your influential paper, to direct the thoughts of all lovers of humanity to another question crying for solution ?

My appeal is to the "Society of Friends," who have issued a pamphlet, a copy of which I have before me. In it they call attention to the horrors of the African Slave-trade "and the appalling amount of misery and suffering inflicted on its vast population."

Your space will not permit too lengthy extracts from this pamphlet, but will you find room for the following : "We have good reasons for supposing that the devastation and destruction of human lives in Equatorial Africa during the past few years have been, and, perhaps are now, as widespread and of as great a magnitude as ever." "According to such authorities as LIVINGSTONE, Cardinal LAVIGERIE, GORDON and CAMERON, about half a million lives are sacrificed yearly to the African Slave-trade." "Cardinal LAVIGERIE and CAMERON estimate that every year two millions are torn away from their homes."

In the face of such remarks, and the untold misery they reveal, I trust you will pardon me when I urge you to use your influence upon the Society of Friends to make a national appeal to the conscience of the Three Kingdoms and Wales.

Pamphlets do not reach the masses ; their circulation is limited. It must be by public meetings, and then the press would take notice. Thus these iniquities being reflected upon, a means for their suppression would be found, and through God's blessing upon this work a brighter future would result for these distressed peoples.

W. SEDGWICK SAUNDERS.

Exeter, January 3rd, 1895.

SIR,—Kindly allow me space for a few lines in reply to a letter on this subject which appeared in your issue of the 7th inst. The writer, Mr. W. S. SAUNDERS, is, very properly, shocked to find what atrocities are still carried on in Africa, and he calls upon the Society of Friends to appeal to the national conscience of the Three Kingdoms. Perhaps your correspondent is not aware that the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was founded more than half-a-century ago, mainly by the exertions of the Quakers, including such well-known names as my cousin, the late WILLIAM ALLEN, F.R.S., JOSEPH STURGE, the well-known FORSTERS, of Tottenham, uncles and father of the late Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, and many others, and that THOMAS CLARKSON was its first president.

The Quakers have always been the principal supporters of this society in its efforts to appeal to the national conscience of the Three Kingdoms. That this appeal has, from time to time, been successful, has been publicly acknowledged in the press throughout the whole country. For instance, in 1884, when the PRINCE OF WALES presided over a vast Anti-Slavery meeting held in the Guildhall of the City of London ; and in 1888, when the late Cardinal LAVIGERIE, by invitation of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, delivered in London a magnificent oration against the Slave-trade in Africa, which was reported in the press of the whole civilised world. At this meeting was passed the famous resolution drawn up by the ANTI-SLAVERY

SOCIETY, which paved the way for the debate in the House of Commons in March, 1889, that resulted in the convening of the great Conference at Brussels.

Unfortunately the enthusiasm created by such movements is apt to die away, but the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, in spite of its slender resources, is incessantly engaged in trying to arouse the national conscience. Its lecturer has, during the past two years, delivered nearly one hundred lectures, mostly with lantern slides, to many thousands of listeners, and this at a considerable outlay to the Society, the collections rarely covering the expense. Even the "Friends" have grown more or less lukewarm in the cause for which their fathers showed such great enthusiasm, and the appeal now being made in Exeter, to which your correspondent alludes, is, or was, intended to be with the view of rallying members of the Society of Friends to the support of the old and well-known ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. By the latest statistics there are nearly 19,000 Friends in the Three Kingdoms, and you may be surprised to learn that at the present moment less than 200 of that body are subscribers to the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Perhaps you will kindly enable me to let it be known, through your widely-circulated journal, that an annual subscription of ten shillings, or a donation of five pounds, gives membership in the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, with the privilege of receiving gratis a copy of its journal, so that the means of becoming acquainted with everything that is now known respecting Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the world is within the reach of almost everyone.

CHAS H. ALLEN, *Secretary.*

55, New Broad Street, London, E.C.,

January 14th, 1895.

The Royal Niger Company.

WE have been favoured with a copy of a statement issued by order of the Governor and Council of the Royal Niger Company in reply to various criticisms of the Company's action, from which we quote the following paragraph :—

"Some of the Mohammedan Emirs have also a serious grievance against the Company, because it has steadily refused to supply them with rifles or other weapons of precision. In our large region two powerful Emirs have been offended by the Company forcibly preventing their raiding the neighbouring pagan tribes, and laying the whole country desolate, killing those who resist, enslaving those who submit, and driving the remainder into the bush to die of starvation. Your Council cannot remove such grievances, but, apart from these, they know that the natives in the settled portions of the Niger territories are grateful for the establishment of British power there. On the numerous waterways which play so large a part in the communications of those regions, natives can travel for hundreds of miles in security even in small canoes, instead of, as in the old days, being seized as slaves if they ventured a few miles from their villages. On land, security to life and liberty is rapidly extending, those who are oppressed come in numbers to seek the justice of the Company, while quarrels of the innumerable tribes are constantly settled peacefully, instead of by intertribal war and Slave raiding. Your Council have never laid claim to philanthropic motives other than those which would certainly actuate any body of respectable Englishmen of the present day entrusted with such great responsibilities; but they have, at any rate, always recognised that your interests and those of Great Britain, both of which they are bound to consider, and which are, indeed, to a large extent identical, depend mainly on the justice and kindness displayed to the natives, especially in a climate where Europeans cannot permanently settle, and where all hopes of permanent development rest on a gradual elevation of the African."

Review.

"LIFE AND LETTERS OF JNO. G. WHITTIER." *

WE always knew that JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER was the Anti-Slavery poet, and have, from time to time, inserted short poems from his pen in our *Reporter*; but until we read this interesting life, we little knew what a tremendous power was wielded by the gentle, God-fearing, but courageous Quaker poet of Amesbury, Massachusetts, and how every stroke from his pen helped to univet the shackles of millions of Slaves. Born on December 17th, 1807, of Huguenot and Quaker ancestry, the future poet in early life was placed in circumstances little calculated to attract the Muse of song.

He had to work on the farm, and could not obtain an education fitted for one who was so wonderfully gifted by nature, until an anonymous piece of poetry, forwarded to the *Free Press*, in 1826, attracted the notice of its editor, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, who rested not until he had discovered the author. From that time WHITTIER and GARRISON's names were closely united in the great Anti-Slavery crusade, which only ended when the fetters of the Slave had been molten in the terrible crucible of a hideous civil war. It is true that these two great liberators did not always see entirely eye to eye on some religious and other points, and we incline to think that when they differed, our sympathies go with the poet. We cannot enter into the varied life of the young politician, printer, and writer, into which characters WHITTIER had developed, but we would advise our readers, if they would understand and appreciate the guileless life of this remarkable man, and the influence he exercised over the destinies of a nation, to read this well-written life, with a volume of his published verses close at hand, taking care to read each of the stirring and beautiful poems when it is mentioned in Mr. PICKARD's volume. This gives it a connection with the author that is otherwise likely to be missed. To enjoy the *Life and Letters of Whittier*, they must be dovetailed into the poems, for his life was one beautiful poetic whole. How quaintly his old-world Quaker phrases stud every letter he wrote—for the simple-minded Friend was ever the same, and made no difference whether writing to man or woman, to high or low. Such phrases as "I don't believe thee knows how glad I am to see thee," and similar ones, sound oddly even to English Quakers, but WHITTIER said he wished to speak as his ancestors had always done. We give a few extracts from Mr. PICKARD's charming volumes, but simply to induce others to dip more thoroughly into their recesses. Of course we give prominence to Anti-Slavery matters, and only regret space will not allow of more.

RIOTS AND DESTRUCTION OF PENNSYLVANIA HALL.

Early in May, 1838, Mr. WHITTIER attended the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in New York, where he offered a resolution and advised members

* Two Vols., by SAMUEL T. PICKARD. London, SAMPSON LOW & Co. 1895.

and agents of the Society not to rely upon physical force for protection against the violence of their enemies. There was a small majority against this proposition. He returned to Philadelphia in season to see his office destroyed by the mob of May 17th, 1838, spent a week in straightening out matters, and then started for Boston, where he attended the Annual Meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, and was a member of the business committee. During his absence he sent letters to the *Freeman*. The New England Convention was held in Marlboro' Chapel, and a mob gathered, as in Philadelphia, threatening to destroy the hall, but the Mayor promptly took measures to protect the convention. Mr. WHITTIER says of the Marlboro' Chapel that it was nearly equal in size and beauty to Pennsylvania Hall. He describes a visit on a June day to the ruins of the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown, which was destroyed by a mob in 1834. He says: "The stone literally 'cries out from the wall,' and the scorched timber answers it. Would it not be well to let the walls of our beautiful hall remain like those of the Charlestown Convent—a monument and a warning?" He returned to his work in Philadelphia the last week in June. Fortunately, the printing office of the *Freeman* was not in the building that had been destroyed by the populace, and the publication of the paper was not interrupted.

Pennsylvania Hall was the largest and finest edifice of its kind in Philadelphia. It had been built by an association of citizens, at a cost of 43,000 dols., that they might have a room in which the principles of liberty and equality of civil rights could be fully discussed, and the evils of Slavery portrayed. The dedicatory exercises had been in progress three days, with crowded audiences in attendance; addresses had been delivered by DAVID PAUL BROWN, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, ARNOLD BUFFUM, ANGELINA GRIMKE WELD, and others; letters were read from JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, THADDEUS STEVENS, WILLIAM JAY and GERRIT SMITH; and also an ode written for the occasion by JOHN G. WHITTIER. There were threats of violence from a rabble in the streets, incited, it is said, by Southern men sojourning in the city. On the evening of the third day, May 16th, while GARRISON was addressing a woman's meeting, the windows were broken by stones, but the inner blinds prevented injury to the audience. Mrs. WELD, a native of South Carolina, delivered an eloquent address in the midst of pauses in the tumult, and LUCRETIA MOTT and MARIA W. CHAPMAN, by the grace and dignity of their presence, and the discretion of their speech, prevented an outbreak of violence, which was threatened in the crowded hall. ABBY KELLEY, of Lynn, on this occasion made her first public address. She said:—"It is not the crashing of those windows, nor the maddening rush of those voices that calls me before you. Those pass unheeded by me. But it is the small voice within, which may not be withstood, that bids me open my mouth for the dumb, that bids me plead the cause of God's perishing poor."

When the meeting adjourned, the women passed unharmed through the angry mob that blocked the streets outside. The next morning a crowd again assembled in the streets, and DANIEL NEALL, president of the managers of the hall, called upon the Mayor for protection. The Mayor replied: "It is public opinion that makes mobs, and ninety-nine out of a hundred of those with whom I converse are against you." The City Solicitor gave orders to the police not to arrest a single man. Placards had been posted calling for mob violence. The day passed, and nothing was done by the Authorities to ensure order. In the evening there were fifteen thousand persons assembled in the streets. The Mayor gave notice that he would disperse the mob if he could have possession of the building. The keys were at once given him, and he made this singular speech:—

"There will be no meeting here this evening. This house has been given up to me. The managers had the right to hold their meeting ; but as good citizens they have, at my request, suspended their meeting for this evening. *We never call out the military here.* I would, fellow citizens, look upon you as my police, and I trust you will keep order. I now bid you farewell, *for the night!*"

The mob gave three cheers for their friend, the Mayor, and commenced the attack as soon as he was gone. The doors were forced open, the papers from Mr. WHITTIER's editorial room, the window blinds, and other inflammable materials were piled upon the speaker's platform in the large hall above. They were set on fire, the gas was turned on, and in a few hours only the blackened walls of the beautiful building were standing. The fire department was called out, but the mob prevented a drop of water from being thrown upon the flames. They were allowed to save only adjoining property. With a change of dress to avoid recognition and assault, Mr. WHITTIER was active during the fire in saving what he could from his office, which was in the lower storey. His paper went to press early the next morning, with this brief account of the outrage from his pen :—

"18th of fifth month, half-past seven o'clock. Pennsylvania Hall is in ashes ! The beautiful temple, consecrated to Liberty, has been offered a smoking sacrifice to the Demon of Slavery. In the heart of this city a flame has gone up to Heaven. It will be seen from Maine to Georgia. In its red and lurid light, men will see more clearly than ever the black abominations of the fiend at whose instigation it was kindled. * * * We have no time for comment. Let the abhorred deed speak for itself. Let all men see by what a frail tenure they hold property and life in a land overshadowed by the curse of Slavery."

THE FOUNDER OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AND THE POET WHITTIER.

We are glad to give prominence to the meeting of two such kindred spirits as JOSEPH STURGE and J. GREENLEAF WHITTIER. How delightful it is to see the cordiality with which the American Quaker poet welcomed his renowned brother Abolitionist, and how he was chagrined at the half-heartedness of some of the "Friends" who were sometimes so lukewarm in the cause as to forbid their meeting-house to be used for an Anti-Slavery meeting to hear Mr. STURGE.

In April, 1841, Mr. WHITTIER was in New York, and here he met for the first time the eminent English philanthropist, JOSEPH STURGE. It was in company with Mr. STURGE that Mr. WHITTIER visited the Slave-dealing establishments of H. H. SLAUGHTER, in Baltimore, and attended the Baptist Convention in that city, while it was discussing the question of eliminating all Abolitionists from its missionary board. . . .

In May, 1841, Mr. WHITTIER wrote to his cousin, M. A. CARTLAND, the following description of his pleasant journey in company with JOSEPH STURGE.

"I have been for the last three weeks peregrinating with JOSEPH STURGE, trying to fan into life the all but expiring embers of abolition. We have laboured with Friends and Gentiles, Jew and Greek, and have had much to encourage us on the whole. Thee would like JOSEPH STURGE much—a fine, free-hearted nobleman of nature ; no pretension ; a clear-headed, stout-hearted, practical philanthropist ; the

'HOWARD' of our day,' as he is called in England. ROGERS and GARRISON have been in Philadelphia, but I did not see them, being most of the time in Baltimore and Wilmington."

Mr. STURGE found many Quakers who, like WHITTIER, were ready to assist him in delivering his Anti-Slavery message to the American Friends, but the Society as a whole was rather cool and indifferent, both at Philadelphia and at Newport. In writing about it to a cousin in Philadelphia, some months after STURGE's return to England, Mr. WHITTIER says: "When I was in your city last, I was so anxious about J. STURGE's visit and the course of Friends, and the little difficulties which we met with, that I was hardly myself. I recollect calling at the L——'s some two or three times, when my mind was altogether away, and dwelling upon other things. What they thought of me I have often marvelled at since. It was not on my own account that I felt uneasiness—I am used to such things—but I felt keenly for my English friend."

His sister ELIZABETH, writing to the same cousin, refers to the same matter:—

"How we did love JOSEPH STURGE! His bland, kind face will be a joy in my memory for ever. He *must*, he *will* do good among us. I am afraid I shall not love my own Yearly Meeting as well as I used to, now they have folded their idle hands, when so kindly requested to labour in their *own way*, thus wrapping the mantle of their own slumber, which is unto death about a Christian brother's labours of love. I am a very naughty, wicked girl, I know, and I hardly dare make up my mind about such important movements. May love, charity, hope, and patience be given to all."

JOSEPH STURGE'S GENEROUS OFFER.

On the 24th of July, 1841, Mr. STURGE and Mr. WHITTIER met again in New York, and returned together to Boston, afterwards visiting Lynn and Lowell. The English Quaker embarked for home in August. The friendship between the two men lasted until the death of Mr. STURGE, in 1859. He omitted no opportunity to be helpful to WHITTIER when illness or financial embarrassment gave him an opportunity to offer his purse. Perceiving WHITTIER's failing health, and his need of rest, just as he was embarking for home, in August, 1841, he left with LEWIS TAPPAN, of New York, one thousand dollars, upon which he wished Mr. WHITTIER to draw as he might need. This is his memorandum of the transaction:—

"JOSEPH STURGE places at the disposal of his friend, J. G. WHITTIER, one thousand dollars, during the next twelve months, for his personal and other current expenses of housekeeping, travelling, etc., or a visit to a tropical climate for the sake of his health; and if he should not need the whole for this purpose he will please apply the remainder to any travelling or other expenses connected with his labour with the *Reporter*, or any other Anti-Slavery object."

It is believed that this money was spent entirely in Anti-Slavery work, for Mr. WHITTIER took no trip for his health's sake, and never went to England.

A FURTHER GENEROUS OFFER.

In 1849, JOSEPH STURGE, the eminent English philanthropist, proposed to Mr. WHITTIER, through LEWIS TAPPAN, that he should visit England, offering to pay all the expenses of the journey. Mr. WHITTIER replied to Mr. TAPPAN, under date of July 14th, 1849:—

"I have been spending some weeks in the northern part of New Hampshire, and thy kind note relative to our friend STURGE's proposition receives my earliest notice

on my return. I wish it were possible for me to avail myself of so generous an offer ; but in my present very weak state of health, I could be of no real service to the cause without making exertions to which my strength is inadequate. If I could visit Europe as a mere looker-on, careless and indifferent in respect to the great questions which agitate it, I might possibly be benefited by it. But this I cannot do, and I can ill bear any additional excitement. But, believe me, I feel none the less grateful to our dear and generous friend STURGE, and to thyself for your kindness."

ON THE DEATH OF A DEAR FRIEND.

What shadows we are ! It seems but yesterday when I used to visit you in the long winter evenings at Brooklyn—since Lucy and myself stood by her own loved Merrimac together in the rich light of a westering August sun. And can it be that she is no longer with us ! *But she is not gone.* Her pure affections, her fine intellect, her faith and love, and simple trust in her Heavenly Father, are not lost. She lives still—a glorified dweller in the same universe with ourselves. With the deepest sympathy with your afflicted mother and with yourselves and brother, and with a warm desire that this dispensation of Providence may be blessed to us all, I am very sincerely, etc.

This was written of LUCY HOOPER, who died in 1841. Some of his friends think that had she lived WHITTIER might possibly not have died a bachelor.

WEARINESS.

The blossoms of the peach and cherry are just opening, and the arbutus, anemones and yellow violets are making glad and beautiful the banks of our river. I feel daily like thanking God for the privilege of looking upon another spring. I have written very little this spring—the "Legend of St. Mark" is all in the line of verse that I have attempted. I feel a growing disinclination to pen and ink. Overworked and tired by the long weary years of the Anti-Slavery struggle, I want mental rest. I have already lived a long life, if thought and action constitute it. I have crowded into a few years what should have been given to many.

ON JOHN BRIGHT.

4th Mo., 3, 1889.

Spring is here to-day, warm, bird-full, blossoming with crocuses, snowdrops, and willows. Probably the east wind will scare her away to-morrow. It seems strange to me that I am here alive to welcome her, when so many have passed away with the winter, and among them that stalwartest of Englishmen, JOHN BRIGHT, sleeping now in the daisied grounds of Rochdale, never more to move the world with his surprising eloquence. How I regret that I have never seen him ! We had much in common—in our religious faith, our hatred of war and oppression. His great genius seemed to me to be always held firmly in hand by a sense of duty, and by the practical common sense of a shrewd man of business. He fought through life like an old knight-errant, but without enthusiasm. He had no personal ideals. I remember how he remonstrated with me for my admiration of General GORDON. He looked upon that wonderful personality as a wild fighter, a rash adventurer, doing evil that good might come. He could not see him, as I saw him, giving his life for humanity, alone and unfriended in that dreadful Soudan. He did not like the idea of fighting SATAN with SATAN's own weapons. Lord SALISBURY said truly that he was the greatest orator England had produced, and his eloquence was only called out by what he regarded as the voice of God in his soul.

On his eighty-fourth birthday Mr. WHITTIER received a great number of congratulations, amongst them the following characteristic one from his life-long friend, the late OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, who clung to "the spar" till a few months ago, and then followed the poet into the better land.

I congratulate you upon having climbed another glacier and crossed another crevasse in your ascent of the white summit which already begins to see the morning twilight of the coming century. A life so well filled as yours has been cannot be too long for your fellow-men. In their affections you are secure, whether you are with them here or near them in some higher life than theirs. I hope your years have not become a burden, so that you are tired of living. At our age we must live chiefly in the past. Happy is he who has a past like yours to look back upon. It is one of the felicitous incidents—I will not say accidents—of my life that the lapse of time has brought us very near together, so that I frequently find myself honoured by seeing my name mentioned in near connection with your own. We are lonely, very lonely, in these last years. The image which I have used before this in writing to you recurs once more to my thought. We were on deck together as we began the voyage of life two generations ago. A whole generation passed and the succeeding one found us in the cabin, with a goodly number of coevals. Then the craft which held us began going to pieces, until a few of us were left on the raft pieced together of its fragments. And now the raft has at last parted, and you and I are left clinging to the solitary spar, which is all that still remains afloat of the sunken vessel.

J. G. WHITTIER lived for some time after the last event recorded in this review—for though very delicate, and often painfully ill, he worked on until near his end in September, 1892.

It should be noted that during the long period of WHITTIER'S Anti-Slavery work, when the noble impulse for freedom that filled his soul was welling forth, in heart-stirring odes and pathetic appeals, on behalf of the millions of his coloured brethren, pining in the cruel bonds of a degrading Slavery, he himself was living in a condition but little removed from poverty. His abolition zeal stood in the way of his personal advancement, and the spirited verses he published, in journals devoted to the cause he had so much at heart, brought him but little pay, though they have placed him upon a pedestal of fame worth more than all the dollars of the richest millionaire. His after life was passed in comparative ease and comfort, but he valued money only so far as it enabled him to administer to the wants of others. He never married, but many of his most constant and intimate correspondents were cultivated ladies, many of whom were poets like himself; and amongst men the late BAYARD TAYLOR was one of his closest friends.

We can only say once more, "read this life of a guileless, noble man, a genuine old-fashioned Quaker, Anti-Slavery to the back-bone—and above all, read his beautiful poems."

We append a specimen of WHITTIER's charming power of writing when his thoughts were full of the Anti-Slavery question, as they were until the final blow, recorded here, was struck and the vile institution fell.

The poem, "Laus Deo!" was suggested to Mr. WHITTIER as he sat in the Friends meeting house in Amesbury and listened to the bells and the cannon which were proclaiming the passage of the constitutional amendment abolishing Slavery in 1865. It was the regular fifth day meeting, and as the Friends sat in silence their hearts responded to the joy that filled all the outside air.

When he returned to his home he recited these passages, which had not yet been committed to paper, to the family sitting in the "garden room." He had given thirty years of his life to bring about this event, and his whole heart went out in praise to GOD, who had

Smitten with His thunder
The iron walls asunder.

This poem was first published in the *Independent* of February 9, 1865, and it is referred to in a letter to LUCY LARCOM, under date of 2nd mo., 1865: "I am glad thee like my poem in the *Independent*. It wrote itself, or rather sang itself, while the bells rang."

LAUS DEO!

It is done,
Clang of bell and roar of gun ;
Send the tidings up and down.
How the belfries rock and reel !
How the great guns, peal on peal,
Fling the joy from town to town !

Ring, O bells !
Every stroke exulting tells
Of the burial hour of crime.
Loud and long, that all may hear,
Ring for every listening ear
Of Eternity and Time.

Let us kneel ;
God's own voice is in that peal,
And this spot is holy ground.
LORD, forgive us ! What are we,
That our eyes this glory see,
That our ears have heard the sound ?

For the LORD
On the whirlwind is abroad ;
In the earthquake He has spoken ;
He has smitten with His thunder
The iron wall asunder,
And the gates of brass are broken !

Loud and long
Lift the old exulting song ;
Sing with Miriam by the sea,
He has cast the mighty down,
Horse and rider sink and drown ;
"He hath triumphed gloriously !"

Did we dare,
In our agony of prayer,
Ask for more than He has done ?
When was ever His right hand
Over any time or land
Stretched as now beneath the sun ?

How they pale,
Ancient myth and song and tale,
In this wonder of our days,
When the cruel rod of war
Blossoms white with righteous law,
And the wrath of man is praise !

Blotted out !
All within and all about
Shall a fresher life begin ;
Freer breathe the universe
As it rolls its heavy curse
On the dead and buried sin !

It is done !
In the circuit of the sun
Shall the sound thereof go forth.
It shall bid the sad rejoice ;
It shall give the dumb a voice ;
It shall belt with joy the earth !

Ring and swing,
Bells of joy ! On morning's wing
Send the song of praise abroad ;
With a sound of broken chains
Tell the nation that He reigns,
Who alone is LORD and God.

SIR SAMUEL BAKER—A MEMOIR.*

THIS most interesting volume contains a vast amount of interesting matter connected with the life of Sir SAMUEL BAKER and his great work in the Soudan, which has not yet appeared in his published volumes. As is well known, the efforts of Sir SAMUEL BAKER, and of his successor, General GORDON, for the suppression of the Slave-trade eventually proved to be of no avail, and the country over which they once ruled is, at the present moment, suffering untold misery at the hands of the MAHDI and his followers. We highly commend this volume to the notice of our readers, but at the present moment we have only space to quote what the editor says of the change that came over Sir SAMUEL's views in after years, which he embodied in letters to the Secretary of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. It will be seen that the great explorer and administrator entirely came round to the view always held by the Society, that the Slave-trade could never be entirely suppressed until Slavery itself was done away with.

The editor thus writes (pages 203-205), and it is interesting to find that so experienced an administrator should, in his later years, adopt the peaceful views so long upheld by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY :

Years after, BAKER himself recognised the fact that he had not gone the right way to work in order to effect any permanent results. Measures of forcible repression were all very well for punitive or police purposes ; but they did not strike at the root of the mischief, they simply lopped off vicious excrescences, and left the main supports untouched. In an earlier chapter we have shown that so long as there is a demand for Slaves there is bound to be a constant supply ; that, in order to destroy the demand, one must not be content with the forcible ejection of the traders, for fear of the same conditions producing the same results ; and that it is necessary to cultivate a healthier state of things, which of themselves will assimilate the deleterious elements and produce positive results. The following letters addressed to the Secretary of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, show that in after years BAKER had considerably modified his views :—

To Mr. Chas. H. Allen.

SANDFORD ORLEIGH, 1st January, 1884.

"When I first commanded the Khedive's Expedition, I hoped to avoid the use of force, and to effect the object peaceably. I quite agree with the principle you advocate. I never upon any occasion came to blows with the Slave-hunters, until I was treacherously attacked at Fatiko by the companies of Akád (the name of Abu Saúd's firm at Cairo) with 270 men. This action terminated in their destruction, and from that time to the end of my reign I had no further difficulty with the Slave-hunters. It will, however, be impossible to suppress the traffic in its present advanced stage without some examples that shall instil terror into the hearts of the ruffians employed.

... "The British Government is not in earnest ; neither did it exhibit the slightest interest in the difficult task that I undertook, nor in that of my excellent successor, Colonel GORDON. If the British Government had, at that time, exercised its immense influence in support of either myself or GORDON, the Slave-hunters

* By T. DOUGLAS MURRAY and A. SILVA WHITE. London : MACMILLAN & CO., 1895.

would have quickly seen that England was determined, and our hands would have been strengthened. Instead of this, we were left perfectly unsupported to struggle against a powerful combination, secretly aided and abetted by the Egyptian authorities. The dangers and difficulties of the position, which were hardly understood or appreciated at the time by distant England, can now be realised through the disasters that have so recently occurred (annihilation of Colonel Hick's column, etc.). Nothing will ever suppress the Slave-hunting of the White Nile regions, unless England shall assume the supreme command in Egypt.

"Then emancipate all Slaves, after twelve months' notice; introduce a Vagrant Act, to compel them to labour, otherwise they will become vagabonds; organise an Institution* for female Slaves, from which they may be hired as servants; let a proclamation be issued declaring Slave-hunting, or conveyance of a cargo of Slaves, to be piracy; hang about a dozen of the principals (not the little men, who are *employés*), remembering that Hassan Musa Akád, who supplied the royal harems with Slaves, was the greatest Slaver of the White Nile, Arabi's intimate supporter, and now an exile at Suakin, where he is probably in communication with the rebels."

To Mr. Chas. H. Allen.

9th November, 1882.

... "If we manage matters with judgment, there will soon be a grand opportunity for a decisive blow at the Slave-trade; but I do not think we should disturb the minds of the Egyptians just at the present moment, before they have recovered from the idea of a British occupation. If we work carefully and gain their confidence, we shall be able to act in such a manner as to crush the trade entirely.

"The 'demand' must cease; we shall then easily check the sources of supply."

British East Africa.

ZANZIBAR, May 25.

THE Arab, Mbruck bin Rashid, having failed to comply with the terms dictated by the British authorities, it is believed that an expedition composed of both naval and military forces is contemplated. Mbruck bin Rashid has a stronghold near Mombasa, and some resistance and bloodshed are expected. He is said to have 1,200 well-armed followers.—"The Times" Correspondent.

Thirty-two Negroes Murdered.

HOUSTON (TEXAS), 29th May.—Georgia negroes who have returned to Mexico report that thirty-two coloured colonists, who were escaping from what was practically a state of Slavery, have been murdered at Monelora, near Monterey, in Mexico.—*Mexico News.*

* Such an institution, Mr. ALLEN states, was previously advocated by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in "The Times," of 25th December, 1883. The Institution was shortly afterwards founded in Cairo, with money collected by the Society, and is still doing good work there. Indeed, most of the reforms in this respect have been due to the persistent advocacy of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—[Editor of Memoir.]

History of Slavery and Serfdom.*

Those of our readers who have had occasion to consult Dr. Ingram's informing article on this subject in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* will find the present volume not only an interesting but also a useful work of reference. The Bibliography at the commencement of the work is especially valuable, and bears witness to the wide extent of reading required in the preparation of a volume of this nature.

Chapters dealing with the systems of slavery existing among the Greeks and Romans lead us to a consideration of the various forms of serfdom which subsequently prevailed throughout Europe, and many of our readers will be surprised to find that this modified form of slavery lingered in Scotland until finally abolished by Acts passed in the reign of George the Third.

The rise, progress, and final abolition of the African Slave Trade and Slavery by the various nations of Europe and America are fully dealt with, and, whilst we may not always agree with some of the author's conclusions, the work is conceived in a liberal spirit and deserves to be widely read.

A friendly reference to the exertions of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society appears in its pages, and we are pleased to find that the author has avoided many of the errors into which most of the writers on the same subject have fallen, more particularly with respect to the abolition of Slavery in British Possessions.

We regret that the space at our disposal precludes our quoting from the work, but we are glad to see that the writer truthfully depicts the evils of the Polynesian Labour Traffic, and sounds a warning note which we trust will not go unheeded either by the Imperial Government or that of Queensland, when he states that :—

"The whole history of the system teaches us the lesson that the industrialism of the nineteenth century, uncontrolled as it is by any adequate moral authority, would, unless restrained by the power of law, work mischiefs in those regions of the same kind as were wrought elsewhere by European enterprise in the times of Cortez and Pizarro."

The author had a difficult subject to deal with and he has acquitted himself well.

Capture of a Slave Dhow.

ZANZIBAR, April 9.

THE "Phœbe" has captured a Slave dhow at Port Durnford. The vessel has been condemned by the Consular Court.—*The Correspondent of "The Times."*

* A History of Slavery and Serfdom, by JOHN KELLS INGRAM, LL.D. London: ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK, 1895.

Obituary.

MR. LEWIS PHILIP ALLEN,

A younger brother of the Treasurer and Secretary of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, died on the 21st February, 1895, at his residence, Crowborough, after a few days illness, from pneumonia. He was a contributor to the funds of the Society.

HON. FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

WITH the death, in February last, of Mr. FREDERICK DOUGLASS, there disappears a name familiar to almost the whole civilised world for his escape in early days from bondage to freedom and subsequent ransom, largely through the instrumentality of that tried friend of the negro, the late Mrs. RICHARDSON, of Newcastle. Space prevents our giving more than a passing reference to this well-known representative of the African race; but memorial notices have appeared in the press throughout the kingdom, to which we must refer our readers, and specially to a most interesting one in *Anti-Caste*.

The Baptists and Slavery in Zanzibar.

THE *Freeman*, the principal organ of the Baptists, edited by the Rev. J. HUNT COOKE, contains the following excellent notes respecting the latest Slave-trade papers published by our Government—"Africa, No. 6."

A Parliamentary paper relating to Slavery in Zanzibar has just been issued. It shows that our Government, having assumed the protectorate of that island, has been dealing with the evil, which was flourishing there, on the basis of expediency rather than principle, and states that the rule of policy is "to resort only to such measures as, being gradual in their operation, may effect the change without unnecessary disturbance." It is to this we demur. Slavery is not simply an evil, it is a crime. For a bad social system we admit the desirability often of a gradual change. But where there is crime expediency has no place, and the cessation from it ought to be immediate. Cost what it may, the British flag ought not for a single hour to wave over a Slave. It should be its glory that wherever it is unfurled, in the name of the Cross inscribed thereon, that instant every man, woman, and child should be free. Whatever other protection it affords, it should give none to those wretches who hold their fellow men in bondage. No protectorate ought ever to be assumed without the definite understanding that our flag is the banner of universal emancipation. We must not serve the devil for any kingdom. We are sickened and shamed in reading about the "legal ownership of Slaves," and call upon our Government to wipe out at once the humiliating disgrace. We do not ask for Slavery to die out, we want it to be known that wherever our Queen reigns this combination of all crimes shall be put to an immediate and ignominious death.—*The Freeman*, 10th May, 1895.

An Example for Younger Abolitionists.

IT would be difficult to convey to our readers any adequate idea of the efforts made by Mr. ARTHUR ALBRIGHT on behalf of the Anti-Slavery cause, and in support of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, of which he is one of the oldest living members. On the death of his brother-in-law, EDMUND STURGE, the late chairman of the Society, Mr. ALBRIGHT took up the cause which he had formerly been content to leave in the hands of EDMUND STURGE and of his distinguished brother, the late JOSEPH STURGE.

It will be seen in the Annual Report, to be presented at the next meeting of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, how successful Mr. ALBRIGHT has been in raising a sufficient sum to meet last year's very urgent requirements of the Society.

But action has not been confined to the mere giving or collection of money ; he has himself, at the cost of much exertion, put himself in personal communication with leading members of the Society of Friends, the Wesleyans, and Baptists, attending the Wesleyan Conference, and obtaining the passing of Resolutions, Memorials, and Petitions to the Government and the House of Commons, in favour of the abolition of Slavery in all British Protectorates, especially in Zanzibar and Pemba.

Drink and the Slave-Trade.

CONTRIBUTED.

MR. COURTNEY, speaking at Fowey on April 16th, 1895, on the spirit in which the House of Commons should legislate, in the case of the liquor traffic, said :—

“ It would be a fatal thing if they introduced into the attempt to deal with this evil, affecting so greatly the character and future of the nation, considerations of party politics and the venom of party spirit.”

These words come with especial force from one who, if he had consented, would now occupy the Speakership of the House of Commons.

Let us apply this advice to the African Slave-trade.

Drunkenness is considered to cost us sixty thousand lives annually ; the African Slave-trade, at a very low estimate, sacrifices six times that number of lives.

Great Britain, by the Treaty of Brussels, is under international obligation to work for the suppression of this trade.

The making of roads and railroads is a specifically named obligation, yet, when a vote for the Uganda Railway is proposed, the venom of party defeats it, and the interests of Africa are made its football.

The Slave Trade.

MR. THOMAS BAYLEY, M.P., speaking at the Congregational Church, Keyworth, on "British Responsibilities in Africa," on May 11th, thus dealt with the Slavery question :—

He was speaking that night to the Nonconformist conscience of something which was going on on the responsibility of a Government they had elected and of the Government turned out a few years ago. England was the last and only Christian Power in Europe to-day which was allowing the status of negro Slavery—"shame"—in a country over which it had entire control. He had before him a Blue Book setting forth the correspondence relating to Slavery in Zanzibar. It was the report of the representative of England in that Island, and the law he had to administer provided that a Slave could not own or acquire or dispose of private property without the permission of his master. Further, he could not take an oath in a court of justice, contract a marriage, or sue any other person in a court of justice, without the permission of his master. There were two kinds of Slavery in the Island of Zanzibar—the domestic Slavery—the lesser of the two evils, and plantation Slavery. The Slaves engaged in plantation Slavery had to work very hard indeed. It was worse than the American plantation Slavery, statistics showing that the average life was about five years, as against ten to fifteen in the American plantations. The bulk of the Slaves in Zanzibar were plantation Slaves. There were 62,000 of these Slaves in that country, lawfully held, and 78,000 held unlawfully by their masters. That meant that they had been kidnapped into Zanzibar, and that the masters could give no account of them. ("Shame.") The English Government actually spent £200,000 a year to prevent these Slaves being taken from the Mainland. A fleet was maintained there, and part of the money was spent in rewards to the sailors for the recapture of the Slaves. But again, part of this money was also spent in paying for the coaling for our war vessels by these very Slaves the representatives of the Government were supposed to give liberty to. They had been told that it was the cruelty of the Arab that made the Slave Trade so abominable ; and the Arabs were cruel, for he must tell them that for every Slave got over to Zanzibar from ten to fifteen died by the way. ("Shame.") He had asked in Parliament "Can British subjects employ Slaves?" and he got the reply from the Attorney-General on the previous day that they could not ; but the British subject could be a shareholder in a Slave-owning company. If Englishmen there only employed free labour the whole question of Slavery in Africa would be settled in a few days. It was not the Arabs who were the chief offenders at the present time. It was nobody but ourselves. The revenue from the clove fields there was progressing by leaps and bounds, but he himself would give something to compensate for the loss of that revenue in order to wipe out the disgrace of being the last and only Christian nation in that country to permit Slavery. The Government, he admitted, were really anxious to stop this evil, but it had allowed vested interests to step in and say "You can't do away with this until you pay us out." There was, however, no vested interest in the life of a human being. (Applause.)

Mombasa and Victoria Nyanza Railway.

We understand that the Government, having fully reviewed all the circumstances of the case, have recognised the necessity for administrative purposes in Uganda of communication by railway between Mombasa and Lake Victoria.—*Daily News*, May 29, 1895.

Slave-Trade in Tripoli.

January 28th, 1895.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY, K.G., ETC., ETC.,
HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to enclose copy of a communication received from a well-known English resident in Tripoli, respecting the activity of the Slave-trade in that province.

Our correspondent writes as follows, under date December 24th, 1894:—

“Here, under Turkish rule, I am sorry to say, the buying and selling of young boys and girls, chiefly the latter, is still regularly carried on. Not publicly, of course, but the Turkish officers of the army of occupation are equally involved in it with the wealthiest Arabs.”

This statement has been confirmed by a gentleman, late of the Central Soudan Mission, Mr. S. W. GENTLE-CAKETT, who called at this office and gave us the information, which he subsequently, on our introduction, conveyed to the public through Reuter's Agency. (*Copy enclosed.*)

I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the Society is the more concerned to see the activity of the Slave-trade in Tripoli City and its neighbourhood because when I visited that country, three years ago, I was assured by Her Majesty's Consul-General and the Turkish Governor of Tripoli that, although the institution of Slavery existed, there was no Slave-trade whatever under the rule of the Governor of the Western Province, although they admitted the fact that a considerable Slave-trade was carried on at Bengazi, Derna, and other places in Eastern Tripoli.

Your Lordship is doubtless aware that in December, 1892, a lengthy correspondence took place between this Society and the Foreign Office respecting the alleged shipment of Slaves from ports in Tripoli, and in a letter to this Society, dated from the Foreign Office, July 21st, 1893, signed by Sir P. W. CURRIE, it was said that the latest reports from the British Consul at Bengazi stated that “to the best of his belief this trade has been entirely suppressed at the port of Tripoli, and that he has never reported the existence of this trade at Bengazi.”

With regard to this latter statement, I would respectfully call your Lordship's attention to several dispatches and enclosures received at the Foreign Office and published in “Africa, Nos. 7 and 10, 1893.” These dispatches, dating back to December, 1890, and extending to May, 1893, distinctly state that a very considerable Slave-trade is carried on, not only at Bengazi, but at Derna.

One of these dispatches (No. 4), dated Bengazi, May 19th, 1891, says:—

“I have the honour to enclose herewith extract from dispatch addressed to Her Majesty's Consul at Constantinople, reporting the absence of Slave caravans usually arriving here from Waday in the winter, and the probable diversions of this traffic to Derna.”

Another, dated Bengazi, October 2nd, 1892, calculates that there are over 6,000 Slaves in the Province, and 3,000 in the City of Bengazi. As these dispatches were not presented to Parliament until September, 1893, the Society was unable at the time to compare them with the statements made in Sir P. W. CURRIE's letter in February, 1893.

Under the circumstances above related as to the activity of the Slave-trade under Turkish rule, the Society would respectfully request your Lordship to give instructions that all reports received either from Bengazi, Tripoli, or any other Turkish port, bearing upon the Slave-trade, should be published as soon after the meeting of Parliament as practicable.

I have the honour to be

Your Lordship's faithful servant,

CHAS. H. ALLEN, *Secretary.*

REPLY.

FOREIGN OFFICE, *February 9th, 1895.*

SIR,—I am directed by the Earl of Kimberley to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ultimo, relative to the reported prevalence of abuses connected with Slavery in Tripoli, and to state that no information has reached his Lordship tending to confirm the statements made in the communication from a correspondent enclosed in your letter. Lord Kimberley will instruct Her Majesty's Consul General at Tripoli and Her Majesty's Consul at Benghazi to furnish a report on the subject.

I am, Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,

T. H. SANDERSON.

The Secretary,

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Slave Markets in the Central Soudan.

FROM the *Occasional Papers* of the Hausa Association we are able to make the following interesting extracts from letters by the Rev. CHARLES ROBINSON, first student of that Association. His description of the Slave market confirms what we have so often stated respecting the Slave-trade that still exists between the Central Soudan, Morocco and Tripoli.

TWO LARGE TOWNS.

Leaving Loko on September 14th, we marched for the first few days through thinly-wooded country with a considerable amount of undergrowth, and coarse but luxuriant grass, from five to ten feet high. The path, frequently only six to eight inches wide, leads almost due north to Nassarawa, a large walled town, with a population of about 10,000 inhabitants. Leaving this on September 26th, after two days' march through gradually rising country, showing increasing signs of cultivation, we reached the still larger town of Keffe, the wall of which is about seven miles in circumference, though quite half the space thus enclosed is open and cultivated land. The altitude of Keffe, according to our aneroid and boiling-point thermometer, is just

1,000 feet above sea level. There is a very large market here, the principal objects for sale being game, rice, plantains, native tobacco, guinea corn, salt, pepper, kola nuts, a sort of loose earth used as soap, two different kinds of roots from which oil is obtained, cotton obtained from the silk-cotton tree, native cloth, and sugar canes ; these last are only used for chewing, the natives being apparently entirely ignorant of the possibility of obtaining sugar therefrom.

A SLAVE MARKET.

During our stay here we witnessed for the first time a sight which, thank GOD, is becoming increasingly rare, even in Africa, and which, as we may well hope and pray, before the present generation has passed away, will be a matter of history only, viz., fifty to sixty Slaves exposed for sale in the open market. As one walked up and down the rows of men, women, and children thus exposed for sale, and realised that in every large town in the Western Soudan a similar sight might be seen, one could but pray that the time might soon come when some attempt might be made by England, in whose "sphere of influence" the widely-extending Sokoto Empire lies, to put a stop to this diabolical trade, which flourishes to a greater extent here than in perhaps any other portion of Africa. The statement so often made in regard to other parts of this great continent holds equally true here—the Slave-trade is the great overshadowing evil of Hausaland, and of the countries by which it is surrounded, an evil so great that it behoves every civilised man, much more every professing Christian, to do the utmost which lies in his power to remove.

As illustrating the extent to which Slave-raiding is being carried on here at the present moment, on entering Nassarawa we were informed that the KING was absent, having gone off on an attempted Slave-raid. On reaching the village of Simbam-bororo, the village where our carriers deserted us, we were told that the KING was not "feeling sweet," as twenty of his people had that morning been seized and carried off as Slaves. After leaving his town, we passed a spot where, two days before, fifteen native merchants had been seized as Slaves ; and again, shortly before reaching Kaschia, we were shown another point on our path where, within the last two days, a similar fate had befallen five other travellers.

Zanzibar and English Responsibilities.

At the meeting of the Balloon Society, held on the 28th May, at the Gallery, Conduit Street, W., Mr. F. J. COLLINSON, who has recently returned from Zanzibar, read an interesting paper on "Zanzibar, a British Protectorate." Colonel HENRY KNOLLYS occupied the chair. The lecturer gave a description of the country, the town, and the inhabitants, touching on the questions which affect the British Protectorate. He dwelt specially upon the attitude of the Arab Government towards the British Indian population, who were half the support of the island, which, without them, could hardly exist. It should not be forgotten that in East Africa, if anywhere, England's neglect was Germany's opportunity. The German Governors were already realising the importance of attracting Indian merchants and coolies to their settlements, and if they once showed the Indian that he was better off under German than British protection, he, being no patriot, would give the preference to Germany. As regarded Slavery, which was protected, practically,

in Zanzibar, it should be stopped at once. (Applause.) The only reason given for its continuance was an anticipated loss of revenue ; but in such a matter as personal freedom, British honour was a much more important matter. He suggested, however, that there was very little need for retaining Zanzibar at all. It would be far better to transfer the centre of trade to Mombasa, where there was room for a large town, while the climate was better, and where there was a magnificent harbour instead of an open roadstead. In any case, the Government ought to be directly responsible to Great Britain and Parliament, and not, as now, an irresponsible body, answerable indirectly only to Great Britain, and, primarily, to a newly-created SULTAN. There was no doubt a large trade in British goods from Bombay, and of other kinds from Muscat, including Slaves. The Zanzibar Government, as at present constituted, was not capable of undertaking the gigantic responsibilities placed upon it by the transfer of the Imperial British East Africa Company, and should, he urged, be absorbed either by the British or, better still, by the Indian Government as soon as possible. After some discussion, the following resolution was moved by Mr. SEBRIGHT GREEN, seconded by Captain LEMON, and passed with one dissentient :—

Resolved :—That this meeting deplores the continuance of Slavery and the Slave-trade in Zanzibar and Pemba, in spite of the Treaties and Decrees which have been promulgated, from time to time, by the SULTAN ; and now that those territories are under the control of Great Britain, it would urgently call upon Her Majesty's Government to at once bring to an end the institution of Slavery in this as in all other Protectorates of the British Crown.

General HATCH, Commander-in-Chief and Head of the Police of the Zanzibar Government, was also present.

The Polynesian Slave Question.

BISHOP CECIL WILSON.

THIS erstwhile athletic young curate, well known on the cricket fields of the South of England, has entered on his work as Bishop of Melanesia with characteristic energy and determination. Finding that many of the islands under his jurisdiction have been fearfully depopulated by British vessels recruiting labourers for the Queensland sugar plantations—(that is the polite way of putting it ; slave-ships kidnapping right and left would be a more accurate description)—Bishop Wilson is now in Queensland, personally inquiring into the condition of the ten thousand Melanesians who have been taken from their native islands into that colony to toil in the canefields for a pittance, and build up huge fortunes for their masters. The Bishop has a plan of establishing mission stations amongst those unfortunate exiles. That is good and commendable, but the great object to be attained is the total suppression of this infamous traffic, and the cessation of the crying scandal by which so many islands of the Pacific have been left with no inhabitants

save children and aged men and women. This is a clear case for Imperial intervention, for it has been by vessels flying the British flag that nearly all the kidnapping atrocities in the Pacific have been perpetrated. Mr. Sydney Buxton assured Mr. Hogan in the House on Thursday that Lord Ripon would consult on this subject with Sir J. B. Thurston, Her Majesty's High Commissioner for the Pacific, who is now in London. For the sake of the national character and reputation, it is to be hoped that the consultation will lead to immediate and effective action in the direction of the abolition of what is, to all intents and purposes, slavery revived under the protection of the British flag.—*Echo*, May 24.

A Central African Potentate.

HIS RISE FROM SLAVERY.

THE principal figure in Bornu, in Central Africa, for a long time has been a notable man named Rabah, formerly a Slave, and afterwards the trusted servant and lieutenant of Zobeir Pasha, whose co-operation in the government of the Soudan was so strongly demanded by General Gordon. Rabah was sent by Zobeir, when the latter was in Darfur, to collect taxes in the outlying villages, and afterwards when the Mahdist movement broke the Egyptian power, he fled to Baghirmi with a small but resolute body of adherents, all fighting men, with whose help he subjugated the country. From that time his career has been one of unbroken conquest. With constantly-growing forces and a good supply of modern rifles, Rabah advanced against Kuka, the capital of Bornu, of which Ashem was then Sultan. The Tripolitan traders who bring the news were at that time at Kuka.

The battle between Rabah's army and the forces of the Sultan took place two days' journey from Kuka, and lasted from three until sunset. It was fought on both sides with desperate valour, and there was great carnage. Ashem was defeated, and fled with the whole population of Kuka to Zinder. Here he was overtaken and another battle was fought, in which, after 3,000 men had fallen, Rabah was again victorious. Ashem was succeeded in the Sultanate by Kairi, his nephew, who gathered together fresh forces, and attacked Rabah again and again, but was always repulsed.

Slavery in Egypt.

CAIRO, May 22nd, 1895.

The measure which has been prepared by Sir JOHN SCOTT dealing with Slavery will shortly be submitted to the Government, and, if approved, will result in the complete abolition of Slavery in Egypt.—*Correspondent of "The Times."*

Slavery in Zanzibar.

To the Editor of "THE TIMES."

SIR,—The clear pronouncement of the Attorney-General in the House of Commons on Friday last against every form of Slave-holding by British subjects must surely be the deathblow to the continuance of Slavery in the British Protectorates of Zanzibar and Pemba, where the revenue depends solely upon the products of Slave labour. Ever since 1884 the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY—strongly supported by Sir John Kirk, Her Majesty's representative in Zanzibar—has carried on an agitation in favour of abolition in the Sultan's dominions, and since those dominions became a British Protectorate its exertions have been redoubled. In its efforts to awaken the public conscience the society has received invaluable aid from many of the great religious bodies, notably the Society of Friends, the Wesleyans, Baptists, etc., who have all, in their own special form of action, taken steps to address the Government.

The report from Mr. Hardinge, H.B.M. Representative in Zanzibar, just issued as a Parliamentary Paper, "Africa. No. 6, 1895," is open to much criticism, upon which I will not now enter. Mr. Hardinge concludes by urging the Government to do nothing further until the report arrives from the special commissioner lately sent out by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to investigate the Slavery and Slave-trade question in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. In this I consider he is very wise, nor will the public have very long to wait. Our commissioner, who is now visiting Slave-trade ports in Arabia, may be expected home in June or July, and it is hoped that on his arrival the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY may be able to convene a great Anti-Slavery meeting in the City of London to hear from its commissioner a personal narrative of what he has seen and heard of slave life in Zanzibar and Pemba.

Further particulars will be announced in *The Times* in due course.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

CHAS. H. ALLEN, *Secretary.*

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

Office: 55, New Broad-Street, E.C., May 13th.

J. H. PEASE, M.P.,

ON "HOW WE COUNTENANCE SLAVERY."

THIS is the title of an excellent little pamphlet dealing with Slavery in Zanzibar, Pemba, and the Zanzibar mainland territories, all of which are now under the control of the English Government. Mr. PEASE has gathered a large amount of information from several sources, and has brought it together into a compact form in this pamphlet. All who are interested in the work of abolition should not fail to possess themselves of a copy of this useful tract, which may be obtained at the offices of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, 55, New Broad Street, London, E.C., post free for 1½d.

Correspondence.

MOROCCO AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

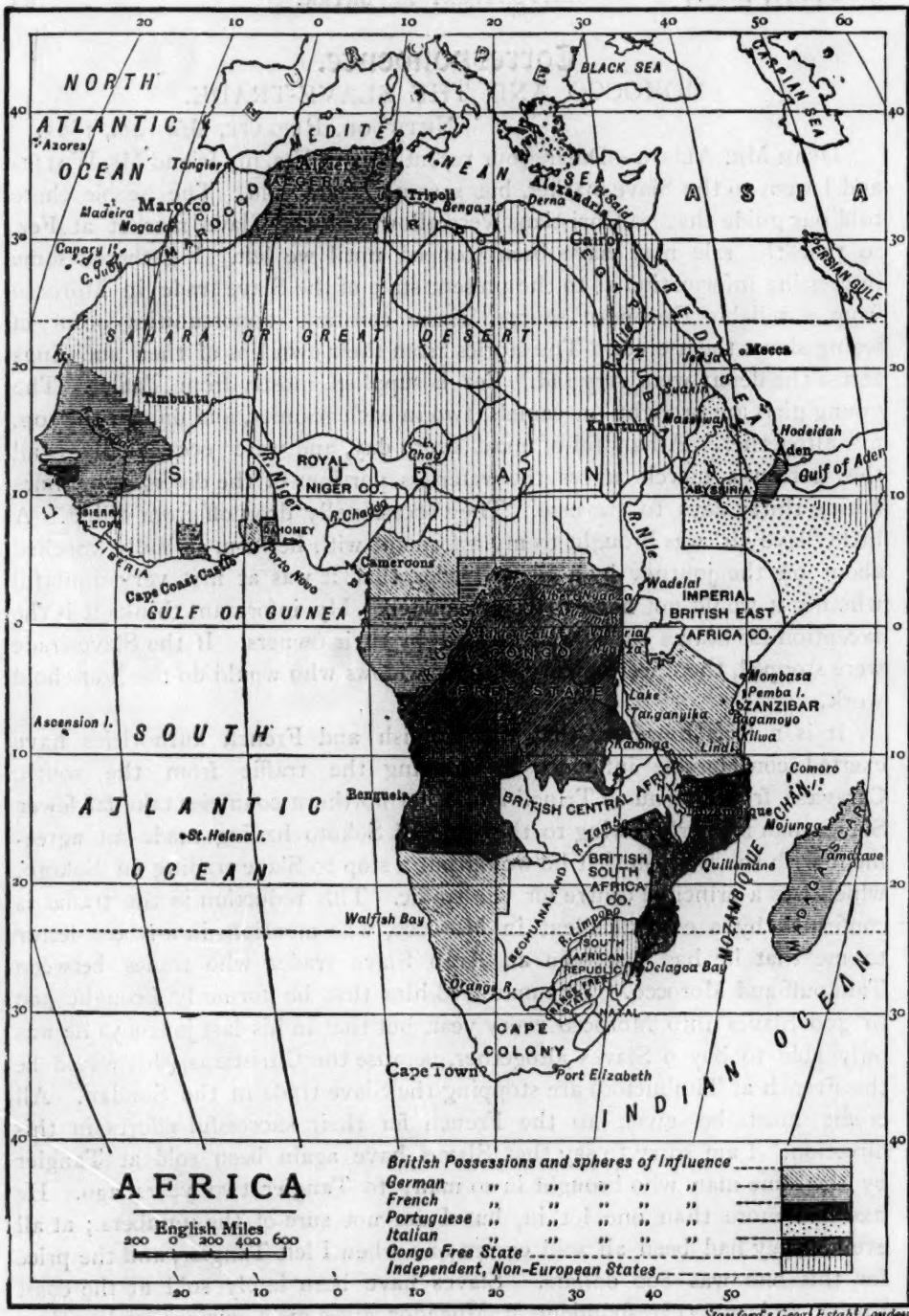
NUTWOOD, REIGATE, *May 4th, 1895.*

DEAR MR. ALLEN,—During our recent visit to Fez, my friend Mr. WALLIS and I went to the Slave market, but saw no slaves sold. The people there told our guide that no Christians were allowed in the Slave market at Fez, so that the sale may have been stopped until we left. I gathered some interesting information as to the present state of the Slave trade in Morocco from a reliable European source, where constant opportunities occur of seeing slaves themselves. The stories from their own lips of their sufferings across the desert were very sad. Fez is supplied mostly from Tafilet. The young girls are brought on camels, two in each pannier, and one on the top, five altogether. A handful of meal every day, and water occasionally, is all they get on a march across the waterless portions of the desert, sometimes taking thirty days to traverse. They occasionally drop off from thirst. A little Slave girl was brought to my informant with her arm so badly knocked about on the journey by a Slave trader, that it was at first very doubtful whether it would not have to be amputated. My informant thinks it is the exception for Slaves to be well treated by their owners. If the Slave trade were stopped, there were plenty of poor widows who would do the household work.

It is a fact, however, that the English and French authorities have exerted considerable influence in stopping the traffic from the south. Caravans from Bornu to Tripoli and other northern countries take far fewer Slaves than formerly, owing to the king of Sokoto having made an agreement with the English that he would put a stop to Slave trading in Sokoto, which was a principal centre for the traffic. This reduction in the traffic is confirmed by a correspondent in Morocco, who mentions in a recent letter to me that he had just seen an Arab Slave trader who trades between Tandouff and Morocco. This man told him that he formerly brought 300 to 400 Slaves into Morocco every year, but that in his last journeys he was only able to buy 9 Slaves altogether, because the Christians (this would be the French at Timbuctoo) are stopping the Slave trade in the Soudan. All credit must be given to the French for their successful efforts in this direction. I am sorry to say that Slaves have again been sold at Tangier by the same man who brought in so many to Tangier two years ago. He has had more than one lot in, but I am not sure of the numbers; at all events, they had been all sold except one when I left Tangier, and the price for this one was 800 dollars. Slaves have been lately sold at the coast towns, and my correspondent at Mogador gives me a curious explanation. He says that many tribes have revolted against their kaims, or governors, and have compelled them to flee from their posts. Their property has been taken and their Slaves sold, thus temporarily increasing the supply.

I remain, yours very truly,

HENRY GURNEY.



MAP SHOWING THE EUROPEAN SPHERES OF INFLUENCE ON THE AFRICAN
CONTINENT.

Printed by L. E. NEWNHAM & CO., 12, Finsbury Street, Moorgate, E.C.